

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

FACTS WHICH PROVE THAT BRITAIN NEVER DISARMED

"Rake's Progress" of Arms Expenditure since 1913

NOW that the arms race between the Powers is proceeding apace the rivals accuse one another of being responsible.

Germany recalls that she was forcibly disarmed in 1918, and charges the Allies with having failed to implement their pledges that this would lead to general disarmament.

Many British politicians have said at one time or another that Britain "tried disarmament" and only started to rearm when the other Powers failed to follow her example.

The following article examines this argument, which pacifist spokesmen have frequently to meet.

By **FRANK R. HANCOCK**

Prospective Labour Candidate for Monmouth

MUCH of the argument for rearmament rests on the assumption that we disarmed after the War, but that no one followed our example. German rearmament (since 1935) is based on the assumption that the Allies did not reduce their armaments, according to their solemn undertaking to Germany.

For example, just prior to the general election of 1931 the Navy League sent an appeal to candidates, of which the following is an extract:

"We have seen our Fleet reduced to such an amount that it is very doubtful if we could protect our seaborne commerce and food supplies if we were attacked. We have at the same time seen the armed forces of all other nations increasing, and their ship-building programmes being continually augmented.

"In short, our 'gestures to the world' for reductions of armaments 'have resulted in the encouragement of other nations to outstrip us in force, and especially in sea power.'"

At that time (1931) the German fleet was non-existent, and the British, American, and Japanese fleets regulated by the ratio of 5: 5: 3. Britain, then, was the only European Power with a great battleship fleet, consisting of 15 super-dreadnoughts, (three of them, the *Nelson*, the *Rodney*, and the *Hood*, still unmatched in the navies

of the world) which alone cost £7,000,000 a year in upkeep.

In 1933 Lord Lloyd said, "We entered the war as the greatest sea-power. There is no doubt our Navy has been shamefully reduced and our naval supremacy has gone."

Yet in 1936 Mr. Winston Churchill said, "Of the British Fleet I can speak with particular assurance. It is certainly far stronger in relation to any fleet, or combination of fleets in Europe, than it was in 1914."

The actual armament figures of this country for the past years are as follows:—

Year	£ millions
1893	33
1913-14	77
1924-25	114
1925-26	119
1926-27	116
1927-28	117
1928-29	113
1929-30	113
(London Naval Treaty, signed 1930)	
1930-31	110
(Price levels fell nearly forty percent during the period 1924-30).	
1931-32	107
1932-33	102
1933-34	107
(1931-34 was the period of the "financial crisis.")	
1934-35	113
1935-36	150
1936-37	186
1937-38	283
1938-39	406
1939-40 (estimates)	580

These figures show a sustained armament programme, with only slight deviations from year to year. The average for the eleven years, 1924-1935, is £112 millions a year, the highest being £7 millions above, and the lowest £10 millions below.

The following table shows reductions in the land forces of European Powers.

	1913	1932
Great Britain	247,250	192,677
France	890,000	552,000
	Period of training reduced to about one half.	
Russia	1,300,000	595,000
Germany	850,000	100,000
	(and no reservists)	
Italy	204,000	200,000

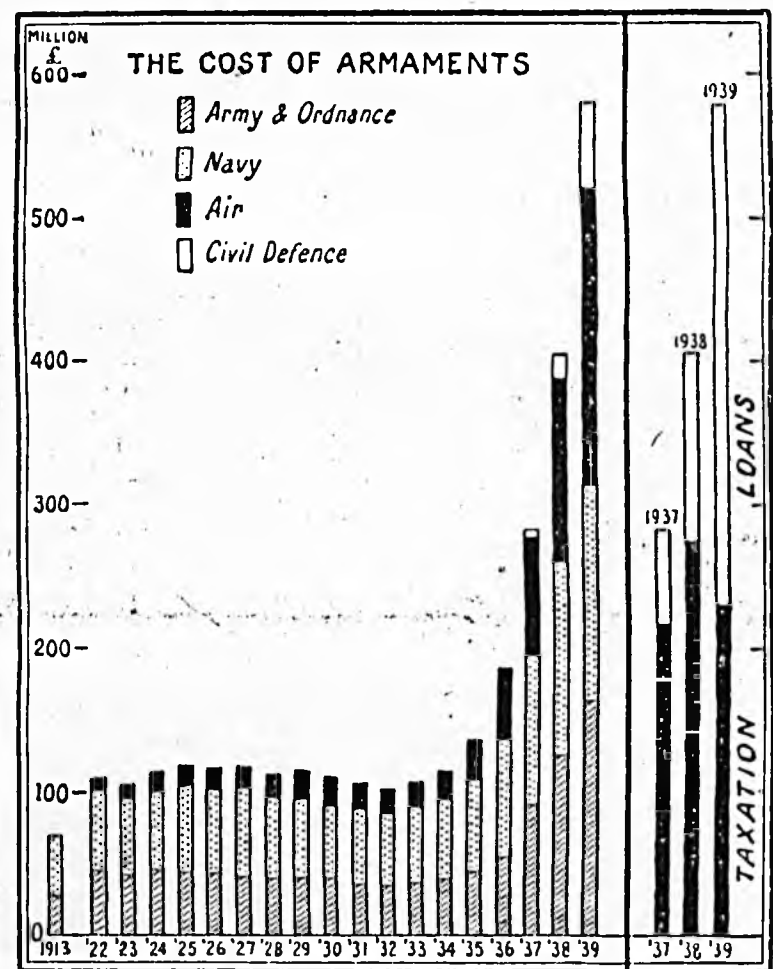
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As a pacifist speaker **FRANK HANCOCK** has often dealt from the platform with the false argument he demolishes in this article.

Though he was known to be a pacifist he contested Lewes as a Labour candidate at more than one general election.

When, however, the local Labour Party desired to adopt him as their candidate in a by-election, the Party's headquarters refused to endorse his candidature.

Arms and the Money



The diagram shows the cost of our defence expenditure in 1913-14 and in the years since 1922-3. The division of the 1938-9 total is only rough, the final figures for the various services being as yet unpublished; the 1939-40 figures are those of the Estimates.

The distribution of rearmament expenditure between taxation and loans since the five-year programme began is also shown.

(—by courtesy of Manchester Guardian)

Why the Nazis Won't Listen to "Reason" by the Plain Man

"... That happy future must remain a dream until Germany drops her unjust suspicions and shows that she is sincerely desirous of talking reason with reasonable people."—Mr. Chamberlain.

"We want no promises from London, but deeds."—Dr. Goebbels.

THERE you have Anglo-German relations in a nut-shell—or, at any rate, relations between the two Governments.

On the face of it, all the right is on our side. We are patient, peace-loving people, only too willing to talk peace with anyone in a similar frame of mind. The Nazis are simply out to get what they can, and won't behave like reasonable men.

Or so we are led to think. The chief paper in this country that speaks for the Government puts on a most pained tone. It says how dangerous it is for the Nazi leaders to refuse to believe the perfectly plain statements made by British statesmen.

But—"Why should we worry? This everlasting talk cuts no ice," say the Nazis.

To frighten them, the same newspaper goes on to talk about the good old British

bulldog. Germans and Italians, I read, "do not realize that a bulldog, however much provoked, does not yap or bark before he bites; but when he bites he does not let go."

Still the German press campaign against Great Britain goes on—bulldog or no bulldog.

THIS almost childish behaviour would be funny if it wasn't so dangerous. But it goes on long enough it may lead to war. That would show how little we learn from our mistakes, for the whole business is a direct result of the last war.

I won't say much about ourselves for the moment. It's the attitude in Germany that needs our understanding.

Dr. Goebbels said, in effect: "We don't care what Mr. Chamberlain says about the good results that would follow Anglo-German co-operation. Whatever the British say, we judge them by their acts. Their foreign policy is now one of encircling Germany. Talk about peace is nonsense if you are trying to prevent Germany from getting justice."

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We Thought This Worth Reprinting

How Non-Violent Resistance Could Prevent Invasion

WE have repeatedly received requests from readers to republish excerpts from outstanding statements of the pacifist case: excerpts which really stand on their own merits, though divorced from their original context.

Pressure on space alone has prevented us from adopting this suggestion before now.

We begin our series, "We Thought This Worth Reprinting . . .", by an excerpt from an early work by one of the most brilliant exponents of the pacifist case—Bertrand Russell.

The excerpt is from his war-time pamphlet *Justice in Wartime*, quoted by C. E. M. Joad in his recent Penguin Special, *Why War?*

By **BERTRAND RUSSELL**

LET us suppose all home opposition overcome, and a force despatched to England to take possession of the country. Such a force, since it would meet with no military opposition, would not need to be large, and would not be in the state of mingled fear and ferocity which characterises an invading army among a hostile population. There would be no difficulty in preserving military discipline, and no opportunity for the rap and rapine which have always been displayed by troops after victory in battle. There would be no glory to be won, not even enough to earn one's iron cross. The Germans could not congratulate themselves upon their military prowess, or imagine that they were displaying the stern self-abnegation believed to be shown by willingness to die in the fight. To the soldierly mind, the whole expedition would be ridiculous, causing a feeling of disgust instead of pride. Perhaps a few impudent street-boys might have to have their ears boxed, but otherwise there would be nothing to lend dignity to the expedition.

However, we will suppose the invading army arrived in London, where they would evict the King from Buckingham Palace and the Members from the House of Commons. A few able bureaucrats would be brought over from Berlin to consult with the Civil Servants in Whitehall as to the new laws by which the reign of Kultur was to be inaugurated. No difficulty would be expected in managing so tame a nation, and at first almost all the existing officials would be confirmed in their offices. For the government of a large modern State is a complicated matter, and it would be thought well to facilitate the transition by the help of men familiar with the existing machinery.

Courage Needed

But at this point if the nation showed as much courage as it has always shown in fighting difficulties would begin. All the existing officials would refuse to co-operate with the Germans. Some of the more prominent would be imprisoned, perhaps even shot, in order to encourage the others. But if the others held firm, if they refused to recognise or transmit any order given by Germans, if they continued to carry out the decrees previously made by the English Parliament and the English Government, the Germans would have to dismiss them all, even to the humblest postman, and call in German talent to fill the breach.

The dismissed officials could not all be imprisoned or shot; since no fighting would have occurred, such wholesale brutality would be out of the question. And it would be very difficult for the Germans suddenly, out of nothing, to create an administrative machine. Whatever edicts they might issue would be quietly ignored by the population. If they ordered that German should be the language taught in schools, the schoolmasters would go on as if no such order had been issued; if the schoolmasters were dismissed, the parents would no longer send the children to school. If they ordered that English young men should undergo military service, the young men would simply refuse; after shooting a few, the Germans would have to give up the attempt in despair. If they tried to raise revenue by customs duties at the ports, they

would have to have German customs officers; this would lead to a strike of all the dock labourers, so that this way of raising revenue would become impossible. If they tried to take over the railways, there would be a strike of the railway servants. Whatever they touched would instantly become paralysed, and it would soon be evident, even to them, that

nothing was to be made out of England unless the population could be conciliated.

Such a method of dealing with invasion would, of course, require fortitude and discipline. But fortitude and discipline are required in war. For ages past Education has been largely directed to producing these qualities for the sake of war. They now exist so widely that in every civilized country almost every man is willing to die on the battlefield whenever his government thinks the moment suitable. The same courage and idealism which are now put into war could quite easily be directed by education into the channel of passive resistance. I do not know what losses England may suffer before the present war is ended, but if they amount to a million no one will be surprised. An immensely smaller number of losses, incurred in passive resistance, would prove to any invading army that the task of subjecting England to alien domination was an impossible one. And this proof would be made once for all, without dependence upon the doubtful accidents of war.

From the Editor's Notebook

Next Steps Against Conscription Government View on Sovereignty And on International Friendship

IF there is a deadlock in the international sphere, there seems to be something like stagnation at home.

At any rate there is no sign of any official move in the direction of building up peaceful conditions. If anything, trial blackouts and other ARP exercises (or "education," as *The Times* calls them) suggest a tendency to intensify war conditions.

Certainly there is no official move on the conscription issue, except for the decision as to where tribunals will be set up. The provisionally registered conscientious objectors still await notice to appear before the tribunals.

Not so with the peace movement, however, which is always looking to the next step.

This week's mass meeting in London has been the latest big move in the fight against conscription. But in quieter ways it is being carried on up and down the country, by groups and individuals.

The suggestion that individual pacifists should write to their members of Parliament opposing conscription is gaining support.

Even better, suggest the secretary and assistant secretary of the King's Lynn, Norfolk, group of the Peace Pledge Union, would be personal visits to MPs by deputations from local groups. Specifically, they urge a nation-wide effort on these lines calling upon every MP to do his utmost to reduce the duration of the Military Training Act to one year.

A Sheffield reader suggests that every PPU member should write direct to the PRIME MINISTER to make him "realize fully that he has no mandate, moral or otherwise, from the people" for conscription.

What Government Says

WHILE it is only to be expected that the idea of a federal union of States (which is discussed elsewhere in this issue) will need to be much more widely spread than it is now, by years of patient propaganda, people will already be wondering what our Government's attitude is likely to be and whether it will take an active part in bringing it about.

MR. REGINALD W. SORESENSEN, MP, tried to find out by questioning the PRIME MINISTER in the House of Commons last week. MR. BUTLER (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs), who replied, was not very informative. He said:

His Majesty's Government are fully aware of the desire among many nations for as wide

a measure of international co-operation as possible, and will always, as the Prime Minister has stated on numerous occasions, be ready to consider any useful suggestions to achieve that end. His Majesty's Government's attitude is well known to all, and the present circumstances do not seem propitious for any initiative such as that mentioned by the hon. Member. MR. SORESENSEN questioned the last assertion "in view of the considerable public opinion which is being organized in America." MR. BUTLER replied: "There are certain difficulties at this moment."

And What It Thinks

BUT perhaps it was the same junior Minister's reply to another question put by the same member a few minutes later that provided the real answer to the first question.

MR. SORESENSEN asked the PRIME MINISTER whether he will ensure that the function of the Foreign Publicity Department of the Foreign Office will be primarily to publicize those principles of international justice, co-operation, and peace, to which Great Britain subscribes, and for which it would make appropriate sacrifices, rather than to defend and advocate the virtues of British diplomatic, economic, and imperial interests?

MR. BUTLER assured the hon. Member that "none of the causes for which Great Britain stands and in which her interests are involved will be overlooked," so MR. SORESENSEN asked if MR. BUTLER identified British imperial interests with international justice, or if there was some discrimination between the two.

The Under-Secretary's reply that "British imperial interests are just" seems to me to indicate as clearly as any direct answer could what the Government really feels about the sinking of national sovereignty in a federal union.

"Full Consideration"

ANOTHER matter in which members of the Peace Pledge Union are specially interested just now was also the subject of a question in the House, put on the same day by the same member.

I refer to the effort to maintain friendship between the peoples who would be called upon to destroy one another if the enmity between their leaders and the differences between their outlooks were allowed to lead their countries into war. MR. SORESENSEN's question to the PRIME MINISTER was:

Whether, in order to minimize popular misconceptions and to disseminate more accurate information, he will consider approaching the German and Italian Governments with a proposal to arrange or facilitate the exchange of

The Remedy

IN the main street at Southwick, Sussex, these two notices are posted side by side on a church:

★
We shall continue to hide in trenches so long as we continue to hate.

★
Public Lecture: How to dig an ARP trench, by N. Bridger-Sage.

"MOTHERS CAN STOP WAR"

An appeal to the mothers of Egypt to "form a powerful barrier, capable of stopping war," has been issued by the Egyptian Section of the Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté. (Women's International League for Peace and Liberty.)

"If millions and millions of women unite in a common will, and organize themselves resolutely to save peace, peace can be saved," it points out.

Beauty & the Beast

A well-known firm of manufacturers of beauty preparations is finding great difficulty in supplying the demand for lipsticks. The machinery normally used in the production of lipstick cases, they say, is now being used to manufacture cartridge cases.

"Peace News" Offices
3, Blackstock Road,
London, N.4

visits between representative British, German, and Italian groups who would be free to consider and discuss international problems, and, if possible, secure publication in each country of the respective viewpoints expressed in their gatherings?

MR. BUTLER's reply is interesting: Visits by private groups, particularly to and from Germany, have taken place in the past and have been encouraged by the authorities in both countries. Whilst my Noble Friend would be glad to see them extended there are certain difficulties in the proposal made by the hon. Member. He added that Lord Halifax would give "full consideration to the matter."

Friendship Now!

THE need for immediate action for international friendship is brought home by a correspondent whose wartime experience of trying to understand the German point of view showed how hopeless it was to leave it till then.

My correspondent, MR. DAVID A. PEAT, of Brighton, quotes the following from DR. W. E. ORCHARD's book, *From Faith to Faith*: "Soon after the outbreak of war the German evangelical leaders had written a letter to their British brethren attempting to justify the position their country had taken up. This was replied to by a letter bearing the signatures of leaders in the Church of England and Nonconformists. This only brought a further defence from the German side, and was such that the ecclesiastical signatories on our side felt that further correspondence was useless."

"The Fellowship of Reconciliation decided to take up the duty of replying, trying to approach the whole matter from the religious and international, rather than from the political and national point of view. I was given the task of writing the letter. It had no reply, if for no other reason than that by this time such interchanges of opinion had become forbidden."

George Launsbury

THE friends of the veteran pacifist, GEORGE LAUNSBURY, arranged some months ago for a portrait bust of him to be made by the refugee sculptor, MR. JOSEPH AUBO.

This, executed in bronze, is now finished, and it will be presented to him by BARROW CADBURY at a public meeting in the large hall in Friends House, Euston Road, London, next Thursday (July 6) at 8 o'clock.

The Master of Christ's College, Cambridge (CANON CHARLES E. RAVEN) will preside, and short speeches will be made by representatives of the various causes supported by GEORGE LAUNSBURY in his long and active public life. These will include PROFESSOR NORMAN BENTWICH, the REV. HENRY CARTER, MR. ISAAC FOOT, PROFESSOR C. E. M. JOAD, LORD PONSONBY and the MAYOR OF POPLAR.

U.S.M.

Why the Nazis Won't Listen to Reason

(Continued from page 1)

Now that sort of argument will make a great appeal to most Germans. For, long before the Nazis came to power, Germany had statesmen who were only too willing to talk about peace.

That was in the years just after the War, when Germany had none of the weapons that a "Great" Power likes to have in its hand while it is bargaining with others.

She had lost territory; her navy had been sunk; she had been starved by a blockade that continued for months after the Armistice; she had been told to pay fantastic sums as reparations.

The British bulldog (and others) had been up to his tricks again, and was not anxious to let go.

The result was a time of humiliation for Germany, then of mass unemployment. Altogether a wicked "peace"—and it explains largely why the Nazis gained power.

The people got tired of politicians who put up with the inferior position imposed on Germany. So out those politicians went, and in came men who cared nothing for the usual notions of "polite" behaviour between nations. Other nations had taken what they wanted, when they could get it. Germany had tried sweet reasonableness and had been ignored. Talk had failed; Germany was in the mood to let Hitler act.

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YOU notice I've said nothing about the rightness or wrongness of the Nazis' claims. I don't think that's the main point. First we have to end the notion that we are out for our own ends at the expense of others. And that, as Dr. Goebbels said, can only be done by deeds, not promises.

Suppose for a moment that Great Britain called a world conference to discuss how the world's wealth could be more fairly shared; suppose Great Britain proceeded to give up any advantage she had gained from the Great War; suppose that, where this meant giving up territory, for the time being such land was transferred to a commission on which all "Great" Powers were entitled to sit; and finally, suppose Britain was so determined to end the reign of fear in Europe that she started to reduce her armaments.

Then try and suppose, if you can, the Nazi press chiefs waging a successful campaign to work up German feeling against Britain on the grounds that she was talking peace while preparing for war. They just couldn't do it, any more than they could prevent Germans from realizing that the British had taken a step that would soon make them happier, safer, and, in the long run, better off.

Fantastic, you think? Not so fantastic as the present position, where we say how peaceful we are and do nothing to prove it, while the shadow of war hovers over an uneasy world.

Our Topsy (Turvy) Empire

IT "JUST GROWED," according to the Army

THE following description of "how the Empire happened," from a War Office recruiting pamphlet, will no doubt be of interest to the young men who will shortly find themselves in the Army:

"The history of our Empire, or Free Commonwealth of Nations as it has now become, is too great a subject to be discussed here, but one point should be noted.

"The Empire was never acquired of set purpose or from any lust of conquest. It was founded by our indomitable merchant venturers and roving seamen, who from the time of Queen Elizabeth onwards were for ever seeking fresh lands and extending the boundaries of our commerce.

"Naturally, British possession of these valuable trading centres did not go undisputed. In successive centuries, to maintain our hold, we had to fight the Spanish, the Dutch, and the French, and ultimately the British soldier was the man called in to do the fighting.

"In the end, when all was over and the world had settled down, we found ourselves possessed of an Empire which had largely created itself but was now too vast and unwieldy to be left any longer under private control.

A GERMAN APPEAL TO EX-SERVICEMEN

THE present tension in Europe has often been described as the result of a long series of missed opportunities for making a real settlement.

This message, translated from the *Berliner Tageblatt* of August 28, 1920, and signed by the "Ex-Servicemen's Peace Alliance," indicates the mood in which Germany was in the years immediately following the War.

If only that opportunity had been taken to build a real peace, what might now have been the position?

"Ex-Servicemen! Comrades! We appealed to you on August 1, the day which six years ago brought the maddest of all wars over the world and mankind, to proclaim your will for peace. Your hope that the new war in the East would soon come to an end, that reason would conquer crude, murderous force, has up to today proved false. Militarism still triumphs.

"In this situation we beg you, comrades, not to hesitate in open public confession of your conviction and to combat resolutely war madness, wherever it may show itself.

"And you others, you who did not serve in the War, but hold our opinions, join the Army of Life—the army of those who do not wish to kill. Support us, as far as lies in your power, comrades, Friends of Peace, mobilize now for the only justifiable war—for war against war."

Student Objector Sentenced to 2 Years in Jail

RELEASED only two months ago in very bad health as a result of his sufferings in prison, and later re-arrested, Pierre Martin, 21-year-old French law student, was sentenced to a further two years' imprisonment last Friday for refusal to do his two years' military training.

"I refuse to learn how to use weapons for the destruction of mankind," he told the court. "My conscience forbids me."

After serving his sentence Martin will be required to do two years in a "special regiment."

Pierre Martin was wrongly described by the *Daily Express* as "the first conscientious objector France has had for many years." Actually more than twenty war resisters were expected to be imprisoned recently.

Not only are resisters punished for actual refusal of military service; heavy penalties are imposed on those who give expression to their views in pacifist newspapers and pamphlets.

Stand Against Militarism

His stand against the French military machine was described by Reginald Reynolds in "An Open Letter to a Man of Twenty" published in *Peace News*, on June 2. In that article sympathizers with Martin were invited to write to M. le Ministre de la Guerre, M. Edouard Daladier, Rue St. Dominique, Paris, to indicate disapproval of the treatment meted out to this conscientious objector.

A similar request was circulated to pacifists in the United States.

The case has also been given publicity by leading French pacifist organizations and journals. M. Jean Giono, well-known French pacifist, recently asked M. Daladier, Premier and War Minister, for a commission of inquiry to report on the physical state of Pierre Martin and the conditions under which he was being detained.

What He Suffered

Martin was originally arrested in February, 1938, for refusal to perform military service, and was released on March 3, 1939, in very poor health.

He returned to his home town of Chartres, where he lived with his mother, but six days after his release he was re-arrested and taken to Metz, where he was supposed to join the regiment to which he had originally been allocated.

On arrival at Metz he was so ill that he had to be taken to hospital. Later he was removed to a cell where the ventilation was cut off by covering the window with shutters.

Medical attention was at this time denied him, and only by a hunger strike was he able to secure his removal to an infirmary at Metz.

He has made it clear that he is willing to do civil service in place of the military service demanded of him.

Any More "Bricks"?

HAVE you sent your contribution to the "Brick Fund" yet?

Laurence Housman suggested at the opening of Dick Sheppard House, that every member should "be a brick" and help to pay for the house by sponsoring one of the 124,000 bricks of which it is built.

Up to Wednesday morning

11,640

bricks had been sponsored.

Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be glad to receive any further contributions at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Indian Paper's Plea To Churches

The *Indian Christian Patriot*, a weekly paper published in South India, but read also in the North, takes a strong, constructive pacifist line. It urges the need for churches to take part in the reconstruction of the world, and adds:

"What the world requires is a Church reconstructed out of the institutional Churches of the world. The dedicated sections, wherever they be, must be linked together by motives of love and purity and sacrifice; they must cut through the existing Church and world organizations, cut through capitalism and communism, cut through the institutional religions and faiths and declare in unmistakable terms Christ's message of love and sacrifice and demonstrate its heroism by standing by the message it gives through suffering and death. It is only then that a change of heart can be expected in the world and in the world's attitude to war."

No Public Executions in France

There are to be no more public executions in France. At a Council of Ministers last week, a decree was approved which provides that all executions are to take place within the prison walls in future, in the presence of a designated number of public officials only.

No More Concessions for Europeans in French Cameroons

AFTER the War the French in West Africa did much to encourage the African population to produce crops for sale and for export on land of their own. As there was plenty of such land the time was sure to come when the owners of the 300 square miles of concessions would find themselves short of labourers. That time came in 1937.

A committee, which included several Africans, was appointed by the Government to examine the problem, and after studying the report of the committee the Government announced its policy.

FRANK STATEMENT

Frankly stating that the Africans intensely disliked wage labour whether industrial or agricultural, the Government announced: "We have to choose between European and Native Land Settlement... The fact must be faced that the European settlement in our possession on the West coast of Africa has reached its highest point and must now give way to Native settlement."

No more concessions are to be granted to Europeans in the French Cameroons.

Thus, as is stated in the July issue of *Empire*, in less than twenty years a French Government has faced, and in the main solved, the problem that in British Africa has after forty years never been faced at all.

CONCERN FOR EDUCATION

Mr. M. F. Dei Anang, who is engaged in research into problems of unemployment and illiteracy in West Africa (the Gold Coast), has found a growing concern of the people in the vital problems of education.

"In addition to mission and Government institutions," he reports, "private denominational schools founded by Africans are springing up in the urban areas to meet the increasing demand for education, while enlightened African rulers have started a policy of national schools."

Two facts make the solution of Gold Coast educational problems particularly difficult. In the first place, no organized adult education exists. In the second, virtually no facilities for education exist in the rural districts.

Speakers from Abroad at P.P.U. Summer Conference

HENRI ROSER, secretary of the French organization, Reconciliation, counterpart of the British FoR, will be one of the speakers at the summer conference of the Peace Pledge Union at Pannel Ash College, Harrogate.

He will not be the only speaker from abroad. An American pacifist and, it is hoped, a German pacifist, will also address the conference.

The conference will be held from July 29 (opening at 4 p.m.) to August 8.

Lectures will be held at 10 a.m. every day, and each evening there will be a discussion from 8 to 10 o'clock. Other lecturers will be: Mary Gamble, Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Alex Wood, Canon C. E. Raven, Stuart D. Morris, and Andrew Stewart.

Entertainments have not been forgotten. On the first Sunday night the Adelphi Players will perform *The Little Plays of St. Francis*.

Later in the week Mary Field, of British Instructional Films, will visit the conference, bringing with her some of the latest historical 10-minute "shorts" as well as some less serious subjects. PPU films will also be shown.

On Bank Holiday there will be a sports day and water-carnival, followed by a final concert and sing-song.

The cost for those attending the whole conference is only 50s. (37s. 6d. for any week). There is plenty of room for the tents of anyone wishing to camp.

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Don't delay—if you have not already sent in your name write now to John Barclay at Peace Pledge Union headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

No More Anti-Nazi Films

Apparently Hollywood is abandoning its campaign of anti-Nazi propaganda. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's latest production, *It Can't Happen Here*, is to be abandoned indefinitely. Films already made, such as *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, will complete their releases, but it is unlikely that any further films of that kind will be made.

Wilfred WELLOCK, "Speaking Personally," asks CAN FASCISM SURVIVE?

It is sometimes worth while to try to peep their portent? Such questions are not into the future. On occasions it is necessary, as, in my opinion, at the present time.

The greatest enemy of reason and intelligence is convention, or drift, and when, supporting the process of drift are such powerful instruments as the modern press, the deliberate purpose of which would appear to prevent people from thinking, the duty of pulling oneself up and enquiring where one is going, becomes urgent.

Many times of late, when I have stepped off the beaten track of life to take stock of things, I have been struck by the number of tendencies which suggest that the world is moving toward an era of Totalitarianism, and I am confident that unless thought and courageous determination play a much larger part in controlling events than is the case at present, it is probable mankind will pass through such an era.

I want in these articles to examine some of the tendencies which are carrying the world toward Totalitarianism, to discover their cause, and also to consider the essential features of Totalitarianism and the conditions and possibilities of its survival.

"Mission" of Fascism

In the attempt to discover the methods and the "mission" of Fascism, I have concentrated my attention on Germany, as the German Nazis have gone about their task in a well-organized and scientific manner, having carried out their plans with almost ruthless disregard of individual liberty, and more and more of privilege and class interests.

First of all I think we ought to recognize that a change in the social system of a country which takes place pre-eminently by consent and as the outcome of propaganda, may have a mission, however reprehensible its methods. Nazism came to power after a tremendous struggle for power with Communism, both of which made rapid headway during a period of world economic depression when Germany feared the approach of a second national bankruptcy.

The Nazis won that race, and during the last six and a half years have been applying their theories. They have transformed the face of Germany, but also the spirit and manner of living of the German people. They have revolutionized the political, social and economic organization of the country, and given to the youth of Germany an entirely new outlook.

But are these changes for the good, or are they evil, both in themselves and in

Nazi Profits . . .

WERE I to attempt to draw a "profit and loss" account of Nazi rule up to date, I should include the following items, basing my judgment on what might be called the view of the average German. I think that average German would agree that Hitler had:

1. Removed most of the injustices inflicted upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles.
2. Secured for Germany an appreciable measure of the power of control over food and raw material which the imperial Powers claim as the right of a big industrial State.
3. Raised Germany once again to the status of a Great Power, and her prestige to a higher level than it had ever been.
4. Restored Germany's self-respect and removed the inferiority complex which has haunted her ever since the Armistice.
5. Undertaken vast schemes of national planning, as in industrial production, road building, land reclamation, food production and food price control, the development of the social services, &c.
6. Placed everybody in work, and thus proved what Socialists have always proclaimed, that by means of national planning unemployment can be removed.
7. Within the confines of a comparatively low standard of living, given to the workers a greater degree of economic security than they have ever known.
8. Deprived the capitalists and financiers of a considerable measure of their power. (Apart from the fact that the Nazis had preached a vigorous form of Socialism before they came to power, the very necessities of the situation in which Hitler found himself when he carried through his policy of rehabilitating Germany in the comity of nations, compelled him more and more to apply Socialist principles, and bit by bit to deprive the capitalists of their power of control. As an expert on German affairs stated in the *Manchester Guardian* a short time ago, most German capitalists are now little more than civil servants.)

I am aware that it is customary in Left circles in this country to declare that Hitler is the tool of the Big Industrialists and financiers, and that his policy is that of monopoly capitalism, but a careful

What Hitler Has Done

"Hitler has done many things which the Socialists and Communists wanted done, but which the former did not do when they were in power. It may well be, therefore, that what Hitler is doing will make easier the road to complete or economic democracy . . ."

So says Wilfred Wellock in this article, the first of three in our series "Speaking Personally." This article, and those that will follow, have been adapted from the second of two lectures delivered by the author at a recent weekend gathering of the West Yorkshire Federation of the Peace Pledge Union.

study of the facts does not confirm that contention. By various means, the wealth of the upper classes in Germany is being quietly but none the less ruthlessly sapped by the Nazi regime.

. . . and Losses

ON the debit side I think the average German would charge Nazism with having:

1. Dragooned the German nation as no highly civilized nation has so far been.
2. Robbed the people of the right to express an opinion in every field of vital experience—politics, religion, history, race, art, &c.—and so converted one of the most mentally alert and intellectually live peoples in the whole world into a dumb nation.
3. Transformed men from living souls into robots, cogs in the machine of State, and militarized the mind of youth.
4. Spread uncertainty in regard to the present no less than to the future. While the intellectually weak may find satisfaction in having all their thinking done for them, intelligent people find it intolerable to know nothing about the why and wherefore of national or international policy.
5. Made war more possible and thus spread the fear of war. While the people appreciate the achievements of Hitler in the foreign field, they never know what he will do next, and thus inwardly revolt against the possibility of being called upon to take part in a war at the behest of one man, who might even act madly in a fit of passion.
6. Forced the German people to work long hours for comparatively low wages in order to achieve ends of which they are ignorant and over which they have no control.

Balancing the Account

I MUST confess I find it very difficult to balance that account, or to draw from it any conclusion with respect to the stability of the Nazi regime. Even on the vital question of individual liberty, it is very easy to make wrong deductions. We are apt to assume that every adult person highly esteems what we understand as democratic liberty, but in fact such liberty means very little to a large percentage of any community.

A considerable percentage of people in all classes live very narrow lives, and develop little interest in the wider concerns and purposes of society. Indeed, in capitalist democracies, the big daily and Sunday newspapers do everything possible to prevent people from thinking, carry them from stunt to stunt, and fill their minds with every kind of excitement, mostly over matters of no consequence and that were better left alone or forgotten.

At the same time there must be considerable sections of the German public, such as the Confessional Church, the Catholic Church, those engaged in educational professions, Socialists, Communists, pacifists, Jews, &c., who are enduring agonies under the Nazi regime, and would welcome almost any opportunity to bring it to an end.

But I am informed that certain achievements of the Nazi regime have caused many of its enemies to modify their views, and to believe that, after all, good may come out of evil. Hitler has done many things which Socialists and Communists wanted done, but which the former did not do when they were in power. It may well be, therefore, that what Hitler is doing will make easier the road to complete or economic democracy. I happen to know that there are people in Germany who now believe that.

(To be continued.)

Britain Has Never Disarmed

(Continued from page 1)

No disarmament followed the Disarmament Conference of 1932-4. The *Manchester Guardian* (15.6.34) said: "Not a gun, not a tank, not an aeroplane (not to speak of submarines and battleships) will be scrapped for all the two years and four months that the Conference has sat."

Lord Londonderry, one of our representatives at the Conference, said in 1932: "I am quite in a minority here in this pacifist and sentimental atmosphere; and I feel most out-of-place discussing these fatuous doctrines every day."

After the failure of the Disarmament Conference Germany resigned from the League of Nations, and re-introduced conscription, and began her formidable armaments.

Yet all the Allied Powers have claimed to have disarmed. But each blames the other for not following the good example each has claimed to have set. Introducing the Naval Appropriation Bill to the House of Representatives (U.S.A.) Mr. G. D. Gary said: "Other nations are building greater war machines than ever before. Great Britain, Italy, Japan and France, apparently do not mind the military expense, and have refused to follow the example of the United States in disarmament." (*Manchester Guardian*, 26.4.35).

France's Claim

But in 1931 France had said, "The United States and Japan are spending more, proportionately, than they did before the War on the upkeep of their war machinery. Britain is spending one percent less than pre-war, Italy fourteen percent less, and France sixteen percent less. France claims that she has gone farther in reducing war expenditure than any other power."

Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker was right when he wrote in "Headway" in December, 1932, that Britain's claim to virtual unilateral disarmament was "a myth."

And the same year Mr. Lloyd George said:

"We gave a guarantee to Germany that if she disarmed in accordance with the conditions of the Treaty, we should follow her example. We have not done it."

"When that document was signed the majority of the signatories had no intention of carrying it out. Before the ink was dry they were making arrangements for creating new armies, and they have created them."

And on the strength of "a myth," cleverly propagated in every powerful country, the peoples of the great Powers have acquiesced in the armaments and conscription that their rulers have called for.

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What Federal Union Stands For

NATION-WIDE interest has been aroused during the past few months in the proposals of Federal Union, a body which advocates the ending of national sovereignty and the formation of a world State on a federal basis.

This project received wide publicity following the publication of "Union Now," by Clarence K. Streit (Cape, 10s. 6d.), a book favourably reviewed by W. B. Curry in "Peace News" on May 12.

Last week Professor G. E. G. Catlin, the well-known historian, wrote in "Peace News": "When I find that an organization has been founded called Federal Union, to substitute a World State, a Federal World State, and to end national sovereignty, I prick up my ears. It is a tiny society at the moment; and I have no reason to suppose that those who put their names to it share my views or even mean business as I mean it. Perhaps it is all one more 'grand alliance' scheme of elderly gentlemen sitting around in Bloomsbury bedrooms and Mayfair drawing rooms."

A representative of Federal Union met the executive committee of the Peace Pledge Union recently to ask the PPU to support his organization. After he had been questioned it was decided not to accord official support. The PPU executive, however, realizing the importance of the subject, decided to recommend PPU groups to organize debates between Federal Union and the PPU for the public discussion of problems mutually concerning the two bodies.

So that readers may judge the value of the proposals of Federal Union, they are described in the following article.

By **LEYTON RICHARDS**

IF some visitor from another planet were shown a map of the world—or even Europe—and if after contemplating the map he asked the meaning of the different colours by which one area is marked off from another, how should we answer?

Each coloured area, we should tell him, represents a National State within its own frontiers. But, the visitor would inquire, what exactly is a National State?

At that point our difficulties would begin; and most people—like a bewildered parent up against an inquisitive child—would be inclined to retort, "You will understand when you are older," and straightway dismiss the question as the mere curiosity of a restless mind. There are some things on earth as in heaven into which it is often deemed impious to probe, and it is therefore considered better to accept things as they are and not ask too many awkward questions!

I do not think this caricatures the average man's attitude to the National State. There it is, like the sea and the sky, one of the facts of life and no more to be questioned than the ground we stand upon or the sun that shines. The history we learnt at school took it for granted; so did the geography; and when schooldays were done, every newspaper accepted it as an indubitable fact. Politicians prate of it, the flag symbolizes it, the emotions of patriotism gather about it, economists put it in terms of trade statistics, armies and navies and air-forces exist to "defend" it, voteless boys of 20 are impressed into its service, foreign offices guard its interests, and the millions everywhere shout themselves hoarse—and even work themselves up into a frenzy of outraged passion—whenver its so-called honour or prestige or independence or sovereignty is supposed to be threatened.

Banishing the Ghost

AND yet, and yet; the National State itself is really no more than a creation of men's minds. It is something like a ghost. Read that choice and charming novel, *Cecilia de Noel* if you would see how much substance a ghost has; it exists and exerts its power for ill just so long as men believe in it; but when they cease to believe, when their minds are no longer held by superstitious fears of the unknown or the unseen, the ghost is banished. For he lives only in

the disordered imagination of men and is nothing more than the child of human ignorance. The remedy for ghostly fears is enlightenment; and then we discover that the thing we were afraid of was merely a creature of fancy, nurtured upon unexamined tradition and inherited illusion.

Precisely the same is true of the National State. It is regarded as a kind of super-personality endowed with absolute powers denied to mortal men; but analyse its pretensions and they dissolve into thin air, for its powers are wielded by "men of like passions with ourselves." It claims unlimited authority over those whom it governs; but examine its claims and the source of its authority is seen to be nothing more than self-assertion.

Its chief attribute is "sovereignty"; it is sovereign in its own right and above all law; it arrogates to itself the unquestioned exercise of power, whether in directing the lives of its citizens, in interfering with the natural and normal flow of world-trade, in manipulating currencies, or in compassing the ruin of civilization by going to war.

But "sovereignty"—especially when it is invoked in inter-state relations—is only another name for the use of brute force unchecked either by moral restraint or by the reign of law.

In the Middle Ages this assertion of national sovereignty was held in leash to some extent by the authority of a super-national Church, whose final sanctions were rooted in religious faith. But with the weakening of the Papacy as a political power, religious sanctions ceased to count in the international sphere, and every National State took to itself an authority which belongs by right to God and to God alone. So a sense of "divine right" gathered about the political organization which we call the State, and rival States—like rival deities in the old mythologies—have no court of appeal except the clash of arms, when their competing interests or supposed "honour" come into collision.

Cause of Fears

HERE is the final explanation of the tension which today divides Europe into a series of armed camps. Man's traditional belief in the sovereignty of the National State is the basic cause of the fears which obsess the world in this fourth decade of

the twentieth century; and from this it follows that if we would finally and for ever dissipate those fears, some means must be found of destroying—or at least so qualifying—this belief in sovereignty that the ghost of nationalism no longer disturbs and affrights the minds of men.

Then, how is this to be done? Education in a new political philosophy, which gives supreme value to Man rather than to the State, is an essential in this matter. But for 99 out of every 100 people, philosophical conceptions are caught rather than taught; and in many cases a new philosophy is nothing but an academic speculation unless it can be embodied and exemplified in a practical way of life.

In regard to the issue before us however, that practical exposition has already taken political form wherever one-time Sovereign States are now merged in a federal union. The United States of America, the Swiss Confederation, and—in a measure—the British Commonwealth of Nations, are cases in point; and what is required therefore, if the present era of recurring crises is not to become chronic, is that some form of federalism shall be devised which shall ultimately do for the 60 or more Sovereign States of today what the United States Constitution has already done for the 48 quasi-sovereign States of the American Union.

This does not mean that national characteristics are to be crushed out, but contrariwise that they will be preserved under the reign of super-national law instead of being at the mercy of anarchic violence. In a federal union, man's energies and the economic resources at his

(Continued on page 8)

Freedom of the Press

"THE Hampshire Telegraph and Post," published at Portsmouth, refused to publish an advertisement asking for those who applied for exemption under the Military Training Act to communicate with a local member of the Peace Pledge Union. The reason given was that the advertisement "concerned conscientious objectors."

Police Ban on Pacifists' Parade Illegal?

BELEIVING that a police ban on a poster parade they had planned to hold just over a fortnight ago was illegal, Greenford (Middlesex) Peace Pledge Union members will hold a poster parade tomorrow, Saturday.

The ban a few weeks ago was ostensibly based on the possibility of "obstruction," and was communicated verbally, not by the Greenford police, but by the Uxbridge Divisional Police Station.

After taking advice the pacifists came to the conclusion that the police were acting illegally in imposing a ban on such grounds, and that they had power only to issue instructions as to the route that should have been taken.

Tomorrow's parade will start at 3.30 p.m. from the War Memorial in Ruislip Road, Greenford.

**HOW THEY RESISTED
IN 1916 . . . No. 13**

Granted Complete Exemption But Joined Non-Military Ambulance Unit

MANY pacifists today feel that what they must resist is not so much conscription as the suggestion that they will not serve their fellow men. And some feel that the way to do that is to engage in some special form of service.

The same kind of problem faced pacifists during the War. One who was actually given complete exemption from military service on grounds of conscience, but who felt that that problem was not solved thereby, here tells of his experience in the Red Cross work which he felt called upon to do.

By **Bernard G. Lawson**

AFTER a short period of training, I was sent over to France and appointed to one of the four trains of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, shortly after the "Somme push" of July, 1916.

There were on each train about fifty of us from the FAU, two or three sisters, and two doctors from the British Red Cross Society, and one RAMC captain (a doctor, of course), who had ultimate responsibility. We were under our own "staff sergeant." The train was made up of French passenger coaches converted into "wards," each coach having 20 beds and room in addition for five stretcher cases.

Two of us were attached to each coach (in one end of which, six feet long, we "lived"). We took on our patients from the Casualty Clearing Stations (usually two to six miles from the front) and carried them down to the base hospitals, generally at Rouen, Boulogne, or Calais. A journey might last from six to thirty-six hours (one took three days!) and during that time we looked after the needs of our patients under the supervision of the nurses and doctors, who came round from time to time.

Half a Million Patients

Of those experiences I need say little. In all, these four trains carried more than half a million patients, and once, out of the forty-odd British trains, two of the Quaker trains headed the list for general efficiency. It must be emphasized that although we co-operated with the Army medical services, we were not under them in any way. Some minor compromises were accepted by us voluntarily, if regretfully, such as a promise not to carry on "subversive" peace propa-

ganda, and to salute Army officers. But in all other ways we retained our freedom and had many rights. We were civilians, carried passports, and paid our fares home as any ordinary passengers.

Our correspondence with our headquarters in France always had the right to go uncensored. If we felt that our understanding with the military authorities (without which, of course, no such work would be possible during a war) was being infringed, we had means of making our protest—and used them with effect.

"To Serve Humanity"

The main motive of the Unit was to serve suffering humanity in this terrible period, even if the sufferers were those who were doing what we felt was un-Christian and impossible for us.

To say we were "patching them up to return" is not a sufficient reason for refusing to assist them. Christ did not make perfection of character a condition of his readiness to heal or help, nor does any doctor in civilian life. Apart from that, we considered we were serving the pacifist cause by demonstrating that it was not fear or slackness that made men refuse to go into the Army; and there is evidence that this impressed the authorities and others. Times change, circumstances change. What was right for me then might not be now. I can only say to each of those concerned: After you have weighed everything up as carefully as possible, do what satisfies your inmost conviction most. I do not think there is any completely logical or completely satisfactory solution to this problem.

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I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

June 30, 1939

The Editor's Point of View

How To End The Deadlock

HOW can the deadlock between the democracies and the dictatorships be broken? Even our Government spokesmen do not claim that it can be done by the British system of alliances. They claim only that the alliances are part of our defence in case the deadlock is broken by violence.

It is hoped, of course (or supporters of the policy profess to hope), that the system of alliances, once it is complete, will form part of a military system that will be so great that the dictators will not think it worth while to fight. The suggestion is that they will then agree to meet the democracies in conference and so end the deadlock peacefully.

The need here seems to be for simple imagination, rather than for facts or figures. For one thing, military strength is not a matter of known facts and figures only. It is very largely a matter of what Mr. Eden has called "The imponderables," including such uncertain but important things as civilian moral, sense of justice, and general happiness.

If it be assumed that Germany would be on the less powerful side, is it really likely that a Herr Hitler, who is supposed to be so deliberately preparing for war would let himself be beaten without a shot being fired? Isn't it much more likely that he would take a last desperate chance, especially if he thought that he stood to lose anyhow?

★

No, even if it be granted that the policy of alliances does not necessarily mean war, it seems quite certain that it cannot break the present deadlock and lead to peace.

The reason is simply that, in so far as it touches the causes of the dead-lock at all, the alliances policy actually makes them worse. For the causes are summed up in Germany's desire to control Eastern Europe and Britain's desire for an economic access to parts at least of Eastern Europe that shall be as secure as if she had control.

If it be asked whether it is a right principle that Germany should control other peoples, the answer is as obviously "no" as it is to the question whether this country should control people in Africa, India, and other parts of the world. And if it be asked whether there is any objection to our having economic access to parts of Eastern Europe, the answer is that there is no more objection than there is to Germany's also having such access.

★

Spokesmen for this country never tire of pointing out that (in the words of *The Times*) we "have no desire to hinder the expansion of German enterprise in regions where, as British statesmen have acknowledged, she enjoys geographical and economic advantages."

It is also claimed that British economic activity is "directed to the defence of British interests, not at the thwarting of German."

We have no need to doubt this. But the point is that, until we are prepared to hand over such decisions to some larger body, we claim to judge what are German and what British interests, take it upon ourselves to defend our interests in our own way, and protest when Germany's efforts to do the same for herself clash with ours.

★

Because we recognize no higher authority as having power to secure the needs of all peoples, we have to take such steps ourselves as we believe will secure our needs. Germany is in exactly the same position. Sooner or later those steps were bound to conflict, since every precaution must be taken by States when each must be the sole guardian of its security.

So it is that appeal to some higher authority can alone end the deadlock peacefully. Whether that authority be a conference or a more permanent federal government or some other body would seem to matter comparatively little. What does matter is that that authority should end the need of individual States to decide their own measures of economic security before they resort to their final measure, war.

Humphrey S. Moore

THE IMPORTANCE OF TACTICS

By Philip S. Mumford

THERE is a story that the head and the hands once rebelled against the stomach. The two former could see no reason why they should exert themselves for what appeared to be the idle recipient of their efforts. The story goes on to tell of the ignominious failure of their rebellion for reasons that are too obvious to need recognition.

It is not always easy for those in the vanguard of any progressive movement to realize that they have not a function separate and apart from the main body of civilization but are merely one of many activities going to make up the whole. This temptation to feel separate is one that must, at a time like the present, be a particularly strong temptation to active pacifists.

The whole world talks, thinks and acts war. Those around us, whether they be friends, relations, employers or employees, are setting a different standard of values upon the vital questions of the moment from those upon which a pacifist's life must be based. In trains and buses, at theatres and cinemas, at mothers' meetings or political committees, ideas are expressed, and considered as beyond controversy, that run counter to everything the pacifist feels to be fundamentally right.

It is, indeed, almost impossible for him either to work or play without finding himself swept into the current that is taking the whole of his civilization toward a general military conflict which must involve, directly and indirectly, both those who approve and those who do not. To add to the confusion which such a situation throws the mind into is the obvious fact that many others, better and wiser, do approve, however much they may regret, the action of their government in attempting to achieve security through military preparedness.

It is not surprising, therefore, that one finds a tendency to bitterness on the part of many pacifists and with that bitterness appears, almost inevitably, the very human desire to find scapegoats with convenient labels. The situation is, beyond doubt, evil and it is comforting to isolate and label that evil with the corollary that we find ourselves isolated under the label of "Those who are right." We sit, as it were, in the stalls whilst the evil ones are paraded upon the stage in front of us—futile Ministers, wicked capitalists, cynical imperialists, traitorous party leaders, who play their hackneyed parts, supported by a chorus of admirals, generals, bishops and the thoughtlessly acquiescent.

Then it is that we pacifists, like other pioneers throughout the ages, are tempted to thank God that we are not as other men and so to justify ourselves in an oversimplification of the whole issue. No simplification of the issue can be a guide as to when co-operation with our fellow-citizens can be refused.

Bedrock of Pacifism

CONSCRIPTION has, of course, brought this issue plainly before us all. The immediate result of the present Conscription Act has been, not unnaturally, to turn the eyes of many pacifists toward direct political action.

The bedrock of pacifism is conscience and conscience subordinates principle to nothing while politics are concerned with considerations of expediency. How can these two be run in double harness?

To ask such a question is to pose a problem that will divide the most profound thinkers and is beyond the scope of this article. We must resist the temptation to take a short cut by using the machinery of politics which is totally inadequate for the expression of pacifism and will remain inadequate so long as pacifists remain a small and specialized minority.

Whilst it is obvious that no-one with pacifist principles can do other than deplore the existence of conscription in any part of the world it is nevertheless to be regretted that pacifists should be distracted from their main purpose of preaching pacifism to enter into ordinary political controversy which must involve much ill-informed and often abusive criticism. The introduction of compulsory military service is inevitable in a world where people believe in the use of force.

"Government's Respect"

THERE is plenty of unrealistic criticism of conscription. For example, there are the exaggerated reports of the opposition to conscription thereby raising hopes that the whole Act would prove unworkable; suggestions that the recent introduction of conscription was a dodge to bring in Fascism.

At the same time our Left Wing opponents accuse pacifists of being Fascists because we refuse to take up arms in order to shoot the citizens of Fascist countries.

Such political wrangles are not the concern of the pacifist movement. The Government shows every sign of being ready to respect conscientious scruples and we in our turn should not be scornful of this respect. There is

apparent a widespread recognition of the sincerity of pacifists and for this we pacifists should be grateful and not ungracious.

Is it true that this Conscription Act is the back door to Fascism? Switzerland, a far more democratic country, than our own plutocracy, has had a mild form of conscription for years without any noticeable trend toward Fascism and as long as a just conscience clause is fairly worked the country is not betraying its democratic principles.

To say this is not to ignore the obvious fact that modern warfare must drive all who participate in it toward totalitarianism; this is the lesson the pacifists are teaching.

We can only be good democrats and good pacifists whilst we respect the sincerity of the majority about us and try to sympathize with their point of view. We are inevitably in and of this generation, an accident of birth that can neither be denied nor ignored and we have a responsibility not only to understand our contemporaries' views but to make it possible for them to understand ours.

How to Co-operate

TO those whose conscience forbids any co-operation in the present so-called civilization there is no alternative but to follow that conscience. In that case their isolation must be complete; the political as well as the social world must be eschewed.

For the majority of us who find ourselves in some doubt as to how far co-operation is possible it seems to me that the course is to co-operate to the maximum and not the minimum of which we are capable. We must always remember that short-range politics are not our business.

We are not separate and apart; we are not even better than the majority, any more than the hands and the head are better than the stomach. We believe wholesale murder is wrong; we are that part of the community which has to spread that idea. We grow in the same soil as the rest of our people and we cannot tear ourselves apart and hope to feed the tree.

Do I seem to harp always on the same point? It is because I believe that the lack of progress in world history is due not so much to the forces of evil but to the fact that the forces of progress have nearly always adopted tactics which have caused a reaction so that humanity so often takes one step forward and two backwards.

If we pacifists can only curb our natural desire to see the Kingdom of Heaven built before we die and content ourselves with the unspectacular work of building a solid foundation for future generations to work on we shall indeed have started a movement that may well be the salvation of the world.

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

GEORGE WITHER

I COUNT not each man valiant who dares die,
Or venture on a mischief desperately,
When either heat of youth or wine or passion,
Shall whet him on before consideration;
Nor will I any man a coward call,
Although I see him tremble and look pale
In dangerous attempts, unless he slack
His just resolves by basely stepping back.
Give me the man with a quaking arm
Walkst with a steadfast mind through greatest harm;
And though his flesh doth tremble, makes it stand
To execute what reason doth command.
Give me the soul that knowingly descries
All dangers, and all possibilities
Of outward perils, and yet does persevere
In every lawful action whatsoever.
Give me a heart that in itself doth war
With many frailties (who like traitors are
In some besieged fort) and hath to do
With outward foes and inward terrors too;
Yet of himself and them a conquest makes,
And still proceeds in what he undertakes.

JOHN MILTON

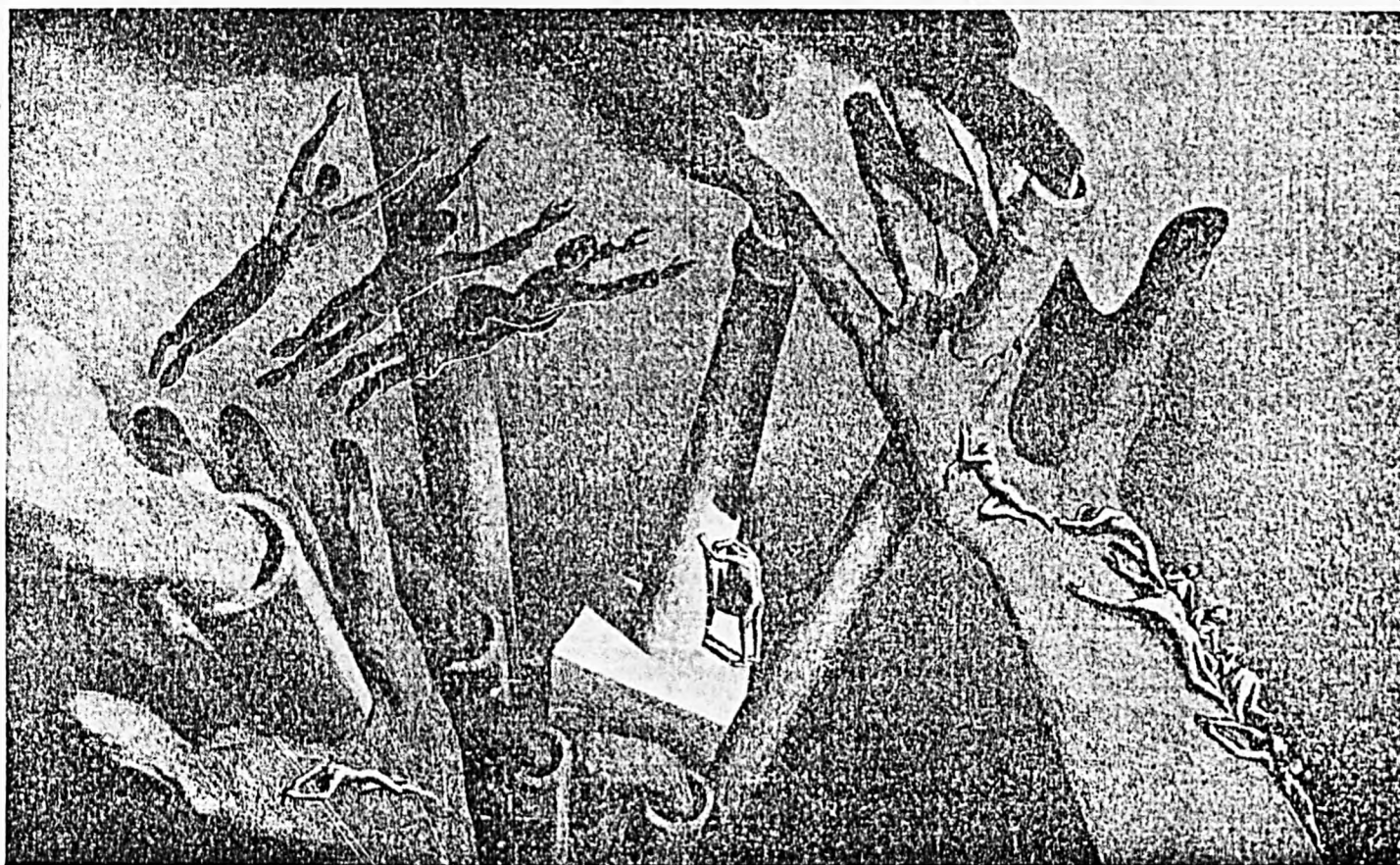
O YET a nobler task awaits the land;
For what can war but endless war still breed,
Till truth and right from violence be freed,
And public Faith cleared from the shameful brand
Of Public Fraud. In vain doth Valour bleed
While Avarice and Rapine share the land.

"My God, My God, Why Hast Thou Forsaken Me?"

ONE of the seven striking drawings by Arthur Wragg included in his latest collection, "Seven Words" (Heinemann, 7/6 net).

The drawings are very different in style from the artist's famous black-and-white work, familiar to readers of *Peace News*. Each is inspired by one of the Seven Sayings from the Cross.

"I wanted to re-tell the oldest and most intimate human drama we know, The Crucifixion," writes Mr. Wragg in his preface, "bridging the two thousand years and making it yesterday, today, now; not frozen into pictures but fluid and an essential part of contemporary history, a part of our common mind, almost as if we ourselves were calling out the same words."



THE BAYNTUN CASE

"A Clash of Principles" says Stuart Morris

STUART MORRIS, chairman of the PPU has had an interview with Mr. A. J. Simmons, a director of Messrs. Reeves & Sons, Ltd., in connexion with the dismissal of Mr. A. E. Bayntun for his refusal to take part in such Air Raid Precautions as involved the evacuation of the work-shop for prepared trenches outside.

He writes:

As some publicity has been given to this case I think it only right that it should be known that Mr. Simmons received me most kindly and pointed out that, being responsible for a considerable number of fellow workers, he felt bound to take such steps as he could to ensure their safety in the event of an air raid, and that he was only anticipating his legal responsibility when the Civil Defence measure became law.

Offer of Reinstatement

He offered to take Mr. Bayntun back at once on the understanding that, although he would not be asked to take any active part in, or training for, A.R.P. he would, when asked to do so, evacuate the premises along with the others and take his appointed place outside.

Mr. Bayntun feels unable to accept this condition, although he is quite prepared to recognize the position in which Mr. Simmons is placed as a responsible employer. It appears, therefore, as though finality has been reached in the matter with, at least, good will on both sides. What has been involved is a clash of principles, and perhaps the most unfortunate part is that in that clash of principles one person stands to suffer so much more in upholding what he believes to be right than does the other.

Government's Wish

Incidentally it may be worth while re-emphasizing the fact that Sir John Anderson has specifically stated that it is not the wish of the Government that the employment of men should be jeopardized because they refuse to take part in Air Raid Precautions by reason of a conscientious objection to them.

Mr. Simmons has asked me to add that though Sir John Anderson has stated that it is not the wish of the Government that the employment of men should be jeopardized because they refuse to take part in A.R.P., there is nothing in the Civil Defence Bill which suggests it. The Bill, in fact, definitely states that the employer must advise the local factory inspector "stating what measures he has taken or is taking to secure that all persons employed by him in the premises are trained as respects the routine to be followed in the event of an air raid."

Stuart Morris suggests that either by way of question or amendment to the Bill before it reaches the Statute Book the position of conscientious objectors shall be made clear in this instance as it is in the case of the Military Training Act.

SOMETIMES?

It is sometimes said that our chief purpose in holding these overseas possessions is to exploit them for our own use.
—Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, May 24, 1939.

Campaign for Repeal of Conscription Act

MANCHESTER CONFERENCE TOMORROW

TO develop a campaign for the repeal of the Military Training Act, and to back up the men affected by the Act; these are among the objects of a conference of delegates from all over North-West England which will be held by the Manchester Branch of the No Conscription League tomorrow (Saturday).

The conference will be held in Milton Hall, Deansgate, Manchester, and will commence at 3 p.m. In the chair will be George A. Sutherland, Principal of Dalton Hall.

It will be followed by a public demonstration at 6.45 p.m., presided over by A. Joseph Brayshaw, at which the speakers will include A. Fenner Brockway and James H. Hudson.

Delegates from organizations who apply to attend the afternoon conference will be charged 6d., but members of the No Conscription League will be admitted free, provided they send their names in advance and present their membership card at the door. At the evening demonstration there will be reserved seats at 1s. and at 6d., as well as a fair proportion of free seats. Information is obtainable from the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. G. M. Needham, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2.

LONDON MASS MEETING

Another feature of the nation-wide campaign against conscription was a mass meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday evening, at which speakers were to include George Lansbury, MP, Stuart Morris, Fenner Brockway, Dr. Maude Royden, Professor C. E. M. Joad, and Herbert Elvin.

The meeting will be reported in next week's *Peace News*.

ACCOUNTANTS' INSTITUTE AND C.O.s

The Institute of Chartered Accountants is refusing to penalize conscientious objectors to the extent of regarding compulsory service by article clerks who are COs in exactly the same way as military service.

This means that the period so occupied will be regarded as service under Articles.

BAPTIST OBJECTORS

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship wishes to make sure that it is in touch with all Baptists who are conscientious objectors to the Military Training Act.

Those who are in touch with these young men should send their names and addresses to one of the following: E. W. Bales, London Union Secretary, 105 Parkway, N.W.1; or G. Lloyd Phelps, Honorary Secretary, The Milton Hall, 244 Deansgate, Manchester, 3.

Peace Congress Programme Changes

OWING to the absence through illness of Dr. G. P. Gooch, the introductory address to the National Peace Congress at 7.30 p.m. on Friday, July 7 will be given by Professor E. H. Carr.

Professor Carr has been Wilson Professor of International Politics in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, since 1936. He was attached to the British Delegation to the Peace Conference, has held various posts in the Diplomatic Service, and from 1930 to 1933 was Assistant Adviser on League of Nations Affairs at the Foreign Office.

The National Peace Congress is to be held at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

A further change in the programme has been made necessary by Señor de Madariaga's inability to speak on Friday, July 7. The session on "A New Peace Conference? Is the Federal Plan Possible?" will therefore be held on the Saturday.

The revised programme will be announced later.

P.P.U. SPEAKERS

As the Congress will discuss details of a forward peace policy as advocated in the National Petition for a New Peace Conference it is hoped that Peace Pledge Union groups, which took an active part in the Petition campaign, will be strongly represented.

Among the introductory speakers at the congress are leading people associated with the PPU, including Mr. George Lansbury, MP, and Stuart D. Morris.

Particulars and application forms can be obtained from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

TENDENCY!

The leaders of political thought in the particular part of the Empire for which I am responsible have displayed a tendency to speak of British Imperialism as an evil thing, as something to be fought and if possible to be destroyed.

—The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, May 24, 1939.

Fighting Fund: A Record Week

A RECORD figure of £58 4s. 6d.

was added to the *Peace News* Fighting Fund during the week which ended on Tuesday. This figure included one anonymous contribution of £50 and another of £5, as well as the 5s. prize money won by Mr. W. Sparks in our recent "Reader's Question" competition.

We are pleased to acknowledge the following contributions:

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	47	18	9
A. S. Gossling	2	0	0
K. Guy	1	0	0
W. Sparks	5	0	0
Anon.	5	0	0
Anon.	50	0	0
Anon, Edinburgh	5	0	0
Champion	10	0	0
A.M.	1	0	0
Anon, Liverpool	2	6	0
Total	£58	4s.	6d.

The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year.)

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to *Peace News, Ltd.*—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Meanwhile, the ultimate need of the paper is a larger circulation.

Here is a way in which individual readers can help to gain us that wider circulation: send us the name and address of anyone to whom it would be worth while sending a specimen copy of *Peace News* and we will do so.

Use the form below, and if you want to send more than one name and address please attach a separate sheet of paper.

To the Distribution Department,
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3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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Address _____

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BOOKS

Two Women on Germany

By ROSE MACAULAY

Reaching for the Stars. By Nora Waln. (Crescent Press. 8s. 6d.).

School for Barbarians. By Erika Mann. (Lindsay Drummond. 5s.).

OF all the recent books on what is the matter with Germany and why, Nora Waln's is the most attractive.

A gentle, pleasant and truthful Pennsylvania Quaker, she spent four years in Germany, and used them in making friends with people of all ranks and views, and in trying patiently to acquire "more light" on the national mood, by observation and questions (but these were often discouraged with "Careful, be quiet. One finds oneself in a concentration camp for less than that.")

Moving among these friendly, kindly people whom she liked (she has an immense gift of friendship) she received shock after shock. Her kind hosts disappear suddenly into concentration camps; revisiting a town, she finds that friends are gone, have lost their jobs, homes and possessions, a Jewish grandparent having been unearthed in their pedigree; a *Grüss Gott* carelessly uttered instead of a *Heil Hitler* may mean arrest; passports are confiscated by the police and their owners told that it will be worse for them if they are found still in the country in a fortnight; all that seems left for them is the river; horror piles on horror, with nightmare accumulation, till the effect is that of a sane woman gradually discovering that the land she is visiting is a vast lunatic asylum managed by sadistic keepers. How, wonders the gentle and horrified American democrat, has a people got that way, so that they stand it without general protest?

For, as she says, "People the world over suffer, even die, gladly for any cause they really cherish. . . I found their desertion of the cause of freedom disconcerting, and their failure to stand by kin and neighbours astounding."

She finds people not only cowed by terror, but hypnotised, ensnared. Is the old Germany of culture and civilization dead, she wonders, or does it lie as Snow White did, in a trance from eating a poisoned apple? Confidently, Mrs. Waln affirms her faith in the second alternative. This faith was strengthened by many of her encounters with individual Germans.

She quotes part of a letter she had, after coming to England, from a young army officer, referring to the Anschluss and the Bohemian rape. In Austria,

"We had to let Nazis do things no German should be allowed to do, and then bring them to order. The purpose of this was to make

it look as if there would have been civic chaos in Austria but for the German Army. The Austrian face reflected scorn. In Vienna deeds were done that civilized men have never done before . . . we were the barbarian hordes. . . In Bohemia, last October, "we again marched to meet no resistance, taking over territory and property, the theft of which made many feel anything but happy. We have all been to school. We know the historic boundary line of the Bohemian crown lands. We know how Germans happened to live in the Sudeten, and we've no illusions about the Nazi interest in poor people. . . Few have any illusions about propaganda. Some of us have skied over there, and have never seen any Czech atrocities. . . German soldiers are not beasts, whatever you have imagined. It was horrible to have to leave Jewish sick unattended by the roadside in no-man's lands, and be forbidden to allow cars to pass to them with food. . . Among us many are asking, what is up? Are we being deceived as Napoleon was into Russia? We have 10,000,000 people and their lands. . ."

A middle-aged business man, a former Nazi, writer of the Jewish pogrom, "This blunder has won us the condemnation of the civilized world, and rightly." And not only of the outside world. "Hans and Gretchen know whether or not their neighbours, Jacob and Rebecca, have been folk whom it is good to live beside. They have not the civic courage to stand by a neighbour, but every time a good neighbour is taken, the Government loses prestige with those who are left." So Mrs. Waln was told by a German girl friend, who, when she was writing this book, "asked me to condemn in no uncertain terms every breach of the humanities done in Germany and combine this with outspoken belief in the goodness of the German people." Mrs. Waln has obeyed this request.

The result is a book which, in spite of a few crudities of style and English, and a certain naïveté of educational background (she had not heard, for example, of the Holy Roman Empire until a German friend told her of it, and perhaps accepts too easily the German versions of history given her) is rich in humanity, culture, charm, and truth and alive with faith, the faith that

"men will rise from somewhere on this earth who have the strength to light such a flame of freedom as will dispel the night that Nazis bring wherever they enter. Perhaps a remembered spark from the Masaryk candle will help to kindle that flame."

This faith, which is all that thousands of oppressed people have now to live by, is difficult to maintain while reading Fräulein Mann's terrible and well-documented indictment of the education and moral and mental training given to children and young people in Germany today. The daughter of one of the most distinguished of German literary men (Thomas Mann contributes an introduction to the book) Fräulein Mann writes with the indignation of one who loves her great country and sees it hurrying downhill to spiritual and intellectual bankruptcy.

What can be hoped for the future of a generation educated (if the word can be used) to military ends only, taught to despise culture and religion, mock and ill-treat racial aliens, spy on and report dissident parents? Always an immoderate and unbalanced people, the Germans are today being taught patriotism, war, hate, false history and biology, and little else.

"Objective truth is done to death," says Thomas Mann. "A people intellectually debased and impoverished, morally degraded—and they expect to conquer the earth. It makes one laugh. We do not get the better of others by destroying ourselves." Unluckily we often do.

But Erika Mann ends her tragic little book,

"Here is a country . . . seduced by romantic nationalism and a charlatan who said he was a saviour—whose moral and spiritual resources are now forced underground. The forces still live. . . They cannot be withheld from the soul of a people. . . In the end, they triumph."

But what is to happen first? Every one interested in the effects of early training on character will read this book with apprehension.

DEMOCRATS ALL

Why I am a Democrat. A symposium edited by Richard Acland, M.P. Lawrence and Wishart. 2s. 6d.

TEN men and women eminent in the Church, the State and the Liberal professions here set out their reasons for calling themselves democrats, not be it noted, their reasons for supporting democracy. The reason for this is that for no single contributor does our present government, call it democracy or what you will, represent the attainment of his or her particular political ideal. For each the word "democracy" is capable of a different interpretation, and on only one point are they agreed: that the State exists to serve the individual, and not the individual to serve the State.

Democracy is a big word, and it is also a favourite word with political speakers; such a favourite in fact that it is in danger through over use of falling to register as a clear-cut concept in our minds. Political events have, however, forced the issue, and we should know exactly what is being challenged by rival systems.

RICHARD ACLAND

Mr Richard Acland, M.P. for North Devon, writes in the introduction: "Not one of them (the contributors), I think, believes that as a democracy we are today putting up the best defence. We are not putting up the best defence. Our leaders, we say, have let us down. . . But before we make too certain that all the fault lies in our leaders, I invite each member of the rank and file to consider whether he personally is putting up the best defence. There is no Member of Parliament, and no prospective candidate, who will not know from his experience exactly what the Duchess of Atholl means by her young people who shuffle and stamp at the end of a dance hall while she is allowed her ten-minute political speech."

This book then appears as an effort to bring the mountain to Mahomet.

C. R. ATTLEE

Mr C. R. Attlee, Leader of the Opposition, outlines his conception of democracy as a society in which there is individual opportunity, equality of rights and duties, liberty of expression and tolerance of the opinions of others. In declaring the double implication of the latter quality, however, we are made aware of Mr. Attlee's attitude toward the behaviour of a minority in a democracy. . . the majority should exercise their power in such a way as to carry with it as far as possible the minority. . . There is also, however, a less realized obligation of tolerance incumbent on the minority, which is to accept the will of the majority in every case unless the reasons for resistance are overwhelmingly strong. Tyrannous majorities and hopelessly recalcitrant minorities are the enemies which destroy democracy."

Mr Attlee's conception in common with at least half of the contributors includes economic equality also; and he is quite definite in his assertion that the Labour Party's rejection of

violent methods of reform is the one obstacle in the path of a union with the Communists.

DUCHESS OF ATHOLL

The Duchess of Atholl, on the basis of practical experience, values the freedom of political self-education possible in a democracy, while Alfred Barnes, M.P., Chairman of the Co-operative Party, instances the Co-operative movement as the ideal form of democracy and gives economic democracy a high place in his conception.

RONALD CARTLAND

Ronald Cartland, M.P. for the King's Norton Division of Birmingham, and the Bishop of Liverpool are the two who deal with democracy from the angle of Christianity. Ronald Cartland is quite unequivocal in his definition: "What is commonly called democracy is no more than the first steps to the attainment of Christian principles in the practice of living in society." and it is a little disconcerting to find a layman so single minded in his view while the Bishop (p. 126) says, "The democracies must learn how to mobilize the whole nation quickly, and to that end must for the time being demand a big surrender of personal liberty, despite the fact that he believes that the democracies after a war would "soon and quite inevitably return to their slow-moving freedom."

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P. for Bristol East, unlike the two just quoted, believes that "no amount of good feeling or good will would ever alter the hard economic facts of the world" and that "direct political intervention" is essential. For Sir Stafford the right of self-government is an essential of democracy that must be preserved, and he holds the view of another contributor, Mr J. C. Little, President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, that various acts of the British Government in recent times have been Fascist in nature in so far as they have been directly coercive.

The democratic conception of both Mr. Little and Mr. Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the British Communist Party agree in the extension of the rights of the working class.

In order that British Communists shall not appear inconsistent in defending capitalist democracy, Mr. Pollitt declares that his party would be defending only the working-class rights already gained. He also claims with an argument that appears valid only in theory that a dictatorship of the proletariat as obtaining in the USSR is the most complete democracy, because "The Soviet State has no need of official opposition; the Government is the kind the people want."

Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal Party, values freedom of opinion and the contribution that each party can make toward the government of the State.

H. van Loo

Federal Union

(Continued from page 5)

disposal can be directed into the constructive arts of peace instead of being diverted to the destructive activities of war: a common currency facilitates trade; communications are unfettered by frontiers; commerce is unhindered by tariffs; and armed "defence" is unnecessary where all are under a common government where law takes the place of war in inter-state disputes,

The First Step

THAT is the goal to be aimed at. The first step is to rid our minds of the superstition of State sovereignty; and the next is to cherish the conception of Federal Union as the ideal toward which political thought and action must be directed. The ideal will not be realized in a single stride; but an immediate step might be taken in federating the Western democracies, while at the same time leaving the door open for other States to join the Union and to share in its advantages by subscribing to its articles of association.

Those articles have been worked out in detail (and incidentally almost every conceivable criticism has been met) by Mr. Clarence K. Streit in a book under the title *Union Now*. In my judgment the book is the most significant volume in the realm of world-politics which has appeared since the dawn of the present century; and if it can gain wide currency it will revolutionize political thinking everywhere. As its ideas prevail, totalitarian myths will topple and belief in national sovereignty will be laughed out of court; and when national sovereignty is discredited, war will be as dead as the dodo.

It is essentially therefore a book for the pacifist who yearns for a positive programme. Here is not only a substitute for war, but a practical means for achieving a world where the warmonger would be as impotent as a believer in medieval magic.

It is good to know that an organization is already in being in England to promote the federal idea and to press it upon public opinion; its name is Federal Union, and its office at 44, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1. Every member of the Peace Pledge Union should write for information; for the PPU repudiates war as the crowning imbecility, no less than the crowning immorality, of the modern world; and Federal Union underlines this conviction when it acclaim the sovereignty of the State as the evil genius which goads men to fight, and points to Federalism as the only device—in the political realm—which can ensure "a happy issue out of all our afflictions."

PSYCHOLOGY AND SECURITY

War and Peace: Essays in Psychological Analysis. By William Brown, A. and C. Black. 5s. net.

DR. WILLIAM BROWN is a distinguished psycho-therapist with a liberal outlook. His opinions on war and peace are deserving of careful study.

For pacifists in particular it is important to realize that enthusiastic participation in war-like movements may be directed by mental forces hidden from conscious recognition, so that many of those who are consciously lovers of peace may be carried into militarism by unconscious motives which they have not learned to recognize.

The author makes clear throughout that in his opinion war is evil and the present danger to peace is largely due to the failure of the Allies in the past to deal justly with their defeated enemies. While he believes that injustices to Germany must still be rectified, he supports collective security as the solution to our present problems, and believes that we must be strongly armed against aggressor nations.

It is at this point that pacifists must disagree with Dr. Brown. "War," he says, "is completely evil, a thing with which we must not make terms." But what is a "coalition of all peace-loving states to resist aggression" but a coming to terms with war? Such a coalition is an attempt to use the threat of war to prevent aggression; a threat which we believe must intensify the evil that it is intended to remedy.

We must all, on the other hand, welcome the author's statement that "It is the spirit of war itself that has to be fought, and we fight it by refusing to give ourselves up to war emotion." This indeed might be taken as a motto for the immediate task of the PPU.

Coalitions to restrain aggressors are being formed whether we like it or not, but we may still do something to check the rise of the military spirit which is a dangerous accompaniment of military preparedness, however well-intentioned the state of preparedness may be.

R. H. Thouless

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Readers on the Pacifist "Dilemma"

MUCH has been written in your columns of late concerning, directly and indirectly, the "Pacifist Dilemma" and the "Reader's Question." The fact of the question's ever having been put indicates that even pacifists are troubled by vestiges in their own minds of the old nationalist and traditional lines of thought.

More accurately, perhaps, and in more general terms, the question is that, if the pacifist were forced to choose between two evils, would he not naturally choose the less evil of the two? The implicit presupposition that there may, in certain circumstances, be no good ready to be done, no ultimately virtuous path waiting to be taken, is fundamentally wrong; and since it is upon this fallacy that so much of the appeal of National Service propaganda depends, we should devote considerably more time than we at present do to clearing at least our own minds of this particularly insidious cant.

We should then find far fewer pacifists in doubt as to whether they should register for some form of "Humanitarian Work in time of War," and far fewer stammering hesitantly when asked unexpectedly to explain their opposition to ARP.

W. J. S. N. GRINDLAY.

5 Brockley View, Honor Oak Park, S.E.23.

Some of the correspondence that has followed Rose Macaulay's article seems to me to illustrate only too well how far nationalist and militarist tricks of thinking still have their hold on us.

If we criticize Germany, Hitler replies: "Well, look at Palestine." Defenders of the Empire say: "Things would be worse under the Nazis, anyway." Whether such people know that *tu quoque* is no justification, or whether (as I suspect) our statesmen are merely overgrown schoolboys, it is difficult to say. But why should readers of *Peace News* concern themselves with such childish arguments?

There is, of course, a case for emphasizing blame in our own eye, more especially as the press—whether "free" or otherwise, specializes in foreign notes. We should do well to think more about Palestine, Kenya, &c., and the Germans to think more about Czechoslovakia and the Jews. But this eternal bickering as to which crimes are

Federal Union

The discussions on Federal Union are all to the good and Mr. Streit's book is a useful text. There are two points, however, which debaters should have clearly in their minds at the outset, lest they commit themselves unknowingly to what they do not intend.

1. A Federal Union, whether of the whole world, as of a large part of it, is based on force. The force would be *Police Force* within the Union (since the States Members of the Union would be individually disarmed); but it would be *Military Force* as between Union and Non-Union States (since the Union would be collectively armed), like the USA.

2. The proposal put forward by (a) Mr. Streit is for the formation now of a Union of Democratic States, quite logically excluding the USSR, with other non-democratic States. The proposal put forward by (b) a new English organization under the name of "Federal Union" is that a number of States not clearly specified, but including the USSR should form a Union *now* and "invite the totalitarian nations to join them on equal terms."

This second proposal repeats one of the worst features of the League of Nations. If an honest effort is to be made to establish a World Federation, or a European Federation, all the States whom it is proposed to include must "come in on the ground floor." The "equal terms" must be equally thrashed out together, for men's notions of equality differ.

(Mrs.) H. M. SWANWICK.

Maidenhead.

Holidays for Children

The following is a suggestion for "Peace Service." Pacifists who live by the sea or in the country might perhaps be willing to entertain for a week or two in the summer one or two of those children from the families of the unemployed in London and other large industrial cities, who it is known would otherwise have no opportunity of getting away from the city except for a day's outing.

Will anyone interested in this scheme please communicate with me at the address below and I will put them in touch with necessitous cases.

(Miss) JOYCE E. HANCOCK.

7 Lansdowne Square, Rosherville, Gravesend, Kent.

worst means that we have allowed ourselves to be gulled into the most dangerous fallacy of nationalism—that what matters is not the eradication of an evil, but the determination of the worst culprit, on whom we may vindicate our indignation as scapegoat for our own sins.

Such an attitude is as futile as it is dangerous. It reminds one of those farcical "Disarmament" Conferences, where (as Lord Ponsonby used to tell us) "grown-up men seriously discussed how many tanks equalled one battleship and whether a submarine was offensive or defensive."

The crimes of nations are quite as immeasurable, and their measurement (were it possible) would be equally unprofitable. How many miles of territory annexed equals how many pounds sterling of war indemnity? How many people killed equals how many wounded or imprisoned or flogged or otherwise maltreated? How many Arab homes destroyed equal how many German Jews forced into exile, and what is the international standard unit for brutality in concentration camps, which most civilized governments now resort to?

Surely it should be sufficient to say that we are opposed to all cruelty, tyranny, injustice and oppression, that we intend to create the mind and the machinery for a new social order in which these things have no place, and that arguments of this kind—still less taking sides in "righteous" wars between the pot and the kettle—will not help us. On the contrary, such discussions arouse precisely those fallacies of condemnation and self-justification which evade the main issue—that society itself is corrupt and cannot be treated locally.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

MAY I remind Mr. G. H. Walkerdene that the solution for war rests with every individual, and war will only cease when men have the courage to refuse to fight. I myself found it far easier to go over the top with my comrades than to preach pacifism. War taught me that whatever ideals I fought for, my opponent did likewise, and though we won the war, we and our children will have to foot the bill.

Furthermore, the only difference between killing in peace time and in war, is that the latter is legalized murder permitted in Christian countries. Had the Church stood by the cross instead of the sword in the last fray, I feel fully convinced that we should have been nearer the solution than we are at the present day.

Had the money that has been spent on armaments been spent on social services, housing, and finding employment for the unemployed, we should have had a more virile, manly and physically and morally fit nation. As it is, we have millions of men who are broken in health and body through war-service, whilst thousands suffer from malnutrition brought on by unemployment through the aftermath of war.

To prevent war, Mr. Walkerdene, you say we must be prepared. But are not all nations saying likewise? You consider you are in the right, whilst others consider they are. Try and see the other man's point of view. Ask yourself whether, after the way we treated Germany after the War, you can blame Germany looking to Hitler for guidance.

Finally, you consider that a small body of men—both pseudo and real, honest Christian pacifists—should not be permitted to enjoy the benefits provided for them by those who make sacrifices.

Does not the pacifist make sacrifices? During the War, did he not forgo his liberty for his faith in pacifism? Does he not pay his share of the war burden in his taxes? Was he not boycotted? Even to this day he is still victimized.

A new spirit will only arise when we are prepared to look on other nations, irrespective of creed or colour, as brothers.

I write this, Mr. Walkerdene, as one who took part in the last war and has suffered like yourself, and through the remainder of life is crippled through war-service. I pray God there may never be another war, but I at least will throw my whole weight into the cause of peace.

E. S. DANES.

56 Kenwood Road, Bordesley Green East, Birmingham, 9.

Contributions to *Peace News* certainly do sometimes appear to be almost as "pro-German" as Goebbels himself. Is it not partly because they feel that some counterblast is needed to the one-sided accounts of the English press? And when Miss Macaulay says that people sometimes wonder whether they have got hold of Action by mistake does she not intend that as a corrective to the error of appearing to be blind to German faults? And between the popular press and the *Peace News* counterblast and Miss Macaulay's counter-counterblast do we not arrive at a compromise in attitude which is preferable to either extreme?

The Nazis, to achieve what they considered a desirable end, have persecuted innocent Jews. Adherents of the League of Nations—to achieve what they considered a desirable end—were prepared to inflict great privations on equally innocent Italians. Pacifists, whatever they think of the ends, must disapprove of these means, in whatever context they find them. But, realizing that disapproval is negative, and, alone, will never bring peace, they try to concentrate rather on the positive side—creation of a friendly spirit by seeing the thing from the other man's point of view.

W. R. ANCRUM.

12 Ranelagh Street, Bristol 5.

Much of the correspondence on "The Pacifist Dilemma" has been concerned, not unnaturally, with what can rightly be called historical consequences and historical "ends."

May I quote from the book, *The World & God*, by H. H. Farmer?

"For the Christian, circumstances will often arise wherein he must act in defiance of every

consideration of possible or probable historical consequences, believing that his obedience to God is related to an eternal end, even though apparently it cannot be justified in terms of historical ends. The 'here stand I, I can no other, no matter what estimations of historical consequences you may set before me' is likely at any moment to be forced to the lips of everyone who is in living touch with God."

(Rev.) W. IVOR CLAYDON.

18 Waterloo Road, Southey St., Nottingham.

I read Miss Macaulay's letter in *Peace News* last week with considerable dismay. It appears to me that righteous indignation, i.e., hatred of Nazism, is clouding Miss Macaulay's pacifism.

I read the letter from Germany under discussion, and considered it a very understandable expression from a young German. I fear it was not so much "an example of Nazi propaganda," as the outcome of bitter experience.

Regarding getting "truth" across, this we can only do in so far as we know truth. I regularly send over *Peace News* and other periodicals which I believe take up a reasonably unbiased standpoint. Also I occasionally send the *Daily Mirror* and other popular literature including the public speeches of some of our leading politicians, just to show my German friends that we also are afflicted "with a stream of furious and lying abuse."

I also deprecate Nazi methods, but I do not think Herr Hitler any more war-like than any "National Hero" of any nationality would be in his position. I seem to remember several practical offers for peace from him since he came to power, being flippantly disregarded.

Of course every British man and woman wants peace; so does every German man and woman; but not the present sort of peace. The trouble is that both sides are prepared to wage a war to get a peace to their own advantage.

Miss Macaulay dislikes the use of the words "militant majority" used by the commentator. "Considering the universal dread of war," the universal determination to go to war rather than sacrifice anything, would perhaps justify "Warmongers" as a more descriptive word in this connexion.

FREDERICK LOHR.

63 Monkham Lane, Woodford Green, Essex.

"WHY NOT CONSCRIPTION?"

May I, as a youth affected by the Military Training Bill, be allowed to put forward my answers to the arguments advanced by Mr. Walkerdene in last week's *Peace News*.

His main argument is that war is a product of human nature and that war will never cease until the selfishness of mankind has been removed. This would be quite justified if the only point against war was that it was wrong, but surely a strong point of the pacifist case is that besides being silly, immoral and futile, war, to all who indulge in it, brings nothing but loss? In other words, man, from pure self-interest, will either have to find some other way of settling arguments or else be exterminated as a species. If man doesn't abolish war then war will abolish man.

The second argument advanced is that as there have been wars for thousands of years then, *ipso facto*, there always will be wars. Had humanity accepted this in the earliest days then we should still be enjoying the amenities and comforts of the stone-age. Duelling and slavery were both supported by arguments of this type and such "conservatism" bears little weight in any matter.

The most interesting part of Mr. Walkerdene's letter, however, is the latter half. Having informed us that war is inevitable, he goes on to tell us how to prevent it, i.e., be prepared! Now, surely, if war is inevitable, to endeavour to prevent it is so much wasted energy. It is this idea of the inevitability of war, that makes the paragraphs about "the brotherhood of man" and the "new spirit that will arise" nothing but, in his own words, "pious platitudes."

The abolition of war is the first step to universal brotherhood and I, for one, see that step as not only a possibility but something more in the nature of a necessity.

As a Christian, I believe that what is wrong in this world, is also the thing that does not pay in the long run, and, therefore, "I renounce war."

ALBERT E. PERRY.

9 Springfield Road, West Ham, E.15.

Mr. Walkerdene says, "To prevent war you must be prepared," meaning, I presume, that you must arm and organize for war so efficiently that potential enemies will fear to displease you. But other countries also adopt this policy, and are constantly increasing their armaments for the same reason.

The armaments race can never be won, unless we are prepared to turn our country into an armed camp, to cut off all expenditure on social and educational services, and

to extend conscription downward to every schoolchild, as Italy does. We shall then be so thoroughly Fascist as to have defeated our own object, and have let out at the back door that very democracy and freedom which we are lined up to defend so gallantly at the front.

It is, moreover, unlikely that war will actually be prevented even by this sacrifice, since nothing will have been done meanwhile to remove the genuine grievances of the so-called "aggressor Powers," on whom—as indeed on us—the financial and nervous strain will eventually become so great that they—or their leaders—will prefer to risk a war.

ROSALIND BEVAN.

21 Ruglan Road, Sketty, Swansea.

Pacifism from the Pews

Under the heading "Pacifism from Pews," *Peace News* for June 23 contains an appeal for women to assist the pacifist cause by entering Churches and proclaiming their message in the middle of the service.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that such tactics can bring nothing but discredit to the cause. The essence of pacifism is *stately courtesy* and consideration for the feelings of others. Interrupting a service to impress one's views upon others is poor propaganda and worse manners.

(Rev.) EDWIN S. TOWILL.

PPU Office, 6 Panmure Street, Dundee.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

To
(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver "PEACE NEWS" to me weekly.

Name

Address

as from issue dated

Note to Newsagent:—

"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: NEWS FROM THE CENTRE

I SOMETIMES get a letter which gives me an unpleasant shock! The writer has obviously never been to Head Office or even visualized the work that goes on here. He (or she!) pictures us as little dictators and, if he happens to be an old soldier, would probably say we had a "cushy billet."

This week I propose to give some pictures of our work and of the people who are only names to many of you. Let me admit right away that we have all the luck (as pacifists) in being able to work in a congenial atmosphere amongst friends, doing the work next our heart.

But dictators—no fear! Slaves to a steadily increasing momentum, willing slaves, but with no time to call our own.

Have you ever thought what it means to send out 140,000 *Peace Service Handbooks* to all parts of the British Isles, and at the same time to be dealing with 'phone messages, printers, publishers, artists, and a hundred and one other queer folk, and still keep smiling? That is Palmer's job in our packing department.

By the way, he tells me that there are two or three new publications that he wants widely known:—

1. *The Unknown Baby*, a new pamphlet which is a re-print from Reynolds, a poem by "Tom Fool" (Eleanor Farjeon). We have it on sale now, 4s. a 1,000, 6d. a 100.

2. Here is a pamphlet for that fantastic creature "the Man in the Street," called *This War Business*, price 1d. (worth 6d.). Be sure to get this for wide distribution and sale (conversion guaranteed).

3. Have you read "The Mertens Lecture, 1939," delivered at Friends House, by the Rev. Henry Carter, price 6d.? If you were unable to go, here is your opportunity.

The Peace Service Handbook, like Tennyson's brook "goes on for ever."

From the basement let me take you to the top of fourth floor which is the happy hunting ground of Miss Moffitt and her "gang." All signatures come to her and are dealt with by return.

Did I hear someone say "Oh, yes?" Actually a great many signatures are collected by groups and are not immediately sent to us.

Miss Moffitt is very anxious that the group secretaries should send these off as soon as they are received as the membership dates from the time of filing. This is particularly important when the member wishes to show his card before the Tribunal.

Miss Moffitt, by the way, has been with us from the day the PPU began and has seen it grow from 1 to 126,500.

Money is our life-blood. Without it we could not expand. In the same way that one looks at the barometer for the weather, we look at Frank Middleton's face for the news of subscriptions. Do send us a fat cheque to keep him smiling!

He is the best accountant that any movement could have, exact and an optimist (the only accountant I have ever met who was not a born pessimist).

The secretaries' department is the backbone of the house.

However much work you give them, they always get it done and yet always look as if they have come back from a holiday (except on Monday morning, when they have).

Alan Staniland keeps us all in order, that is to say he "checks us up," keeps us supplied with all our requirements, orders all our literature and does a dozen other jobs, including the odd ones which no-one is responsible for.

Tucked away in little dens are people who are heard of but seldom seen, Richard Ward and Roy Walker.

Richard writes plays, pamphlets and re-



From the left: Roy Walker, Frank Middleton and R. H. Ward.

views, is responsible for literature generally and to him we owe the high level reached by this part of our propaganda.

Have you read his new pamphlet *The Human Factor*, price 3d.? It is the most inspiring essay I have read for a long time.

Although we have three telephone lines, it is sometimes quite impossible to get through to us as they are nearly always in action.

If it were not for Miss Allen and Miss Ager we should never get in touch with the outside world at all. They work like trojans (or should it be angels?)

Finally no description of H.Q. would be complete without mentioning the fact that Stuart Morris is godfather to us all. He takes all the blame for our many mistakes and is a tower of strength at public meetings and committees.

Of course, I have only mentioned a few and there are many others. With you, they form the Peace Pledge Union. Next time you feel like sending an anonymous letter, think again!

Under the Oak Tree

BASQUE HOUSE "QUADS"

By Theo Wills

ESPERANZA—pronounced Esperantha—and commonly called Espe—pronounced Espay—whose name, it is not difficult to see, means "Hope," is one of our quartette of babies, the others being Bertita, 3 years, Emilita 5 and Teodorina 8. Espe herself is 6. They are constantly together and may be observed engrossed in the same occupations which appeal to English children of that age.

It is sad that the quartette must be broken up. Bertita and Emilita are to go back to Spain.

Espe and Teodorina, however, cannot go back and we are seeking semi-permanent homes for them. Espe's father was shot by the Nationalists, and her mother is gravely ill and poor and cannot take her. Teodorina's parents are refugees in France and hope that we shall be able to find her and her sister and two brothers a home until they can get to Mexico and make a new home for them there.

Espe's face is familiar to many if not all members of the Peace Pledge Union, and, moreover, to many besides, for its image has been travelling all over the country. She it is who smiles at you between the oak-leaves on the Basque House stamp.

Espe is doubly an orphan. When she came here she had a mother with her. An elder refugee girl had found outlet for her own maternal instincts by taking Espe into her special care and they kept together from colony to colony. Maria, her mother, has now, however, rejoined her brothers and sisters who are refugees in Belgium.

Espe is fair and mischievous. Teodorina is dark and good, and has big black lashes. She would, of course, like to find a home near her sister and two brothers.

What offers of a home for Espe?—and for Teodorina?—and for our other children whom we must have adopted into private homes at once?

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

Meetings

Blackheath.—Open-air meetings held every Sunday at 7 p.m. at Whitfield's Mount (near cricket pitch), preceded by tea at Blackheath Peace Shop. Speakers: Sybil Morrison, Alan Eden-Green and others.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted.
Oldham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday, High Street, 7.15 to 8.45 p.m. Write, Joseph Holroyd, 22 Shaw Road, Oldham.

Edmonton.—Mass selling tomorrow (Saturday) from 6.30 to 8.30 p.m., meeting at Edmonton Independent Church.

Manchester.—*Peace News* and *Handbook* sellers wanted on Saturday, July 8, from 2.30 p.m. onwards. Please collect supplies from 41 John Dalton Street any time after 2.15 p.m.

Miscellaneous
Jumble Sale.—Organized by Westminster group on July 15 in aid of group funds. Saleable articles of all descriptions will be welcomed and should be sent to W. J. Gilmore, 6, Bessborough Place, S.W.1, or will be collected on receipt of a postcard to this address.

A permanent mock tribunal, resembling as nearly as possible those to be appointed under the Military Training Act, is to be set up shortly in London. All those wishing to appear before this body to "try out" their case for exemption, also any who are willing to sit as members of it, please write to Secretary, Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors, 84 Review Road, Cricklewood, N.W.2.

What The Groups Are Doing

RECENT activities in Belfast have included distribution of 5,000 copies of *The Warning* leaflet; debate with Social Credit advocates; discussions with local Labour Party; an open air meeting on the Customs House steps; a jump in *Peace News* sales from four to six dozen weekly (two stalwarts consistently refuse to abandon their pitch until they have sold all their copies, even though it means standing until midnight); the starting of three groups, who are conducting study circles based upon *Pacifism for Today and Tomorrow*; and the starting of a first-aid class with the Matron of a local hospital, a PPU member, as tutor.

West Yorkshire Annual Meeting

THE supreme value of fellowship within the pacifist movement was stressed by Rev. Donald Robins, in welcoming the seventy members present at the annual meeting of the West Yorkshire Federation, held at the headquarters of the Leeds group last Saturday.

Congratulations on their stand and the assurance of every help from over two thousand war resisters, was expressed by Resolution to be sent to nearly a hundred COs in the Federation's area. Advisory Bureaux had already been formed to cover the whole area, and a fund to provide assistance in possible cases of need was inaugurated.

Reports on the year's work were most encouraging, practically every one of the 33 groups carrying on various activities. Permanent PPU rooms are now well established in Bradford and Huddersfield.

Bournemouth and New Forest Region

THE past few weeks have been busily spent in the formation of this new Region, and the recent visit of Mr. Hope Gill did a lot to instill fresh enthusiasm. The new region consists of the following groups: Bournemouth Central, Boscombe, Southbourne, Christchurch, Winton, Parkstone, New Milton, Swanage, Wareham and Ferndown.

The groups are now settling down the new arrangement and are already doing active work.

Isle of Wight Groups

FOUR new groups have been formed in the Isle of Wight at Ryde, Cowes, Sandown and Ventnor, and it is hoped that Newport and Yarmouth will soon fall into line.

Intending holidaymakers in the Isle should be

sure to get into touch as soon as possible with Mr. Hales, Leon, Whiteley Bank, Ventnor, who will give them a job of work to do for the PPU at whichever place they happen to be staying!

New Group in Chesterfield

A NEW group has been formed in Chesterfield and meetings will be held fortnightly in the Friends' Meeting House, at 7 p.m., commencing on Saturday, July 8.

Swindon's First Open-Air Meeting

LAST Wednesday evening the Swindon group held its first open-air meeting in a neighbouring country town. Leaflets had previously been distributed to all houses and the meeting was preceded by a poster parade.

Two local Church Ministers and four members of the local PPU group put forward various aspects of the pacifist position and of the futility of war. Copies of *Peace News* and the *Peace Service Handbook* were distributed.

Cardiff Mock Tribunal

A MOCK Tribunal was held on Wednesday of last week and was considered a great help to the COs. Further tribunals are therefore to be held shortly.

A Garden Party in aid of refugees will be held at Llanishen House, Llanishen, on July 19, about which further details are obtainable from Miss I. M. Goodfellow, 3 Marlborough Road, Cardiff.

"The Warning" in Truro

DURING the showing of the ARP film, *The Warning*, in Truro, leaflets were distributed by members of the PPU. One of the leaflets was handed to the Bishop of Truro who spoke at a mass National Service parade at the cinema.

A noticeable feature was the interest taken in the pacifist cause. Indicative of this was the fact that only three leaflets were thrown away.

Westhoughton Opposition

THE Westhoughton (Lancashire) group rented a room opposite the cinema where *The Warning* was being shown, and used it as a Peace Shop for a week.

Many handbills were distributed by energetic volunteers each evening, several new members were obtained, and a fair amount of literature was sold, including copies of *Peace News* and the *Peace Service Handbook*.

Faversham Open-Air Meeting

AN open-air meeting on "Conscription" was held in the Faversham Market Place recently. It was preceded by a Peace Stall which

was made the basis for a display of posters, the distribution of leaflets and sales of the *Peace Service Handbook*. Fifty-three copies of *Peace News* were sold in the streets.

Mr. R. Maynard Bennett, of Sittingbourne, opened the meeting and attracted a large crowd which varied in number between two and four hundred. He was followed by Mr. W. T. Batt, of Faversham.

Members Visit Bruderhof

MEMBERS of the Godalming, Farncombe, Guildford, Farnham and Alton groups visited the Cotswold Bruderhof last Saturday and joined in some of the work.

Later there was a discussion, during which the Bruderhof members said they thought members of the PPU, having gone so far, ought to go the final step to community. They did not see how pacifists could preach Brotherhood without living it.

"What the Groups Are Doing" continued on page 11.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

Phone Euston 5501

"Things We Want You to Know"

JUNE 30th, 1939

"THIS WAR BUSINESS"
Written for the Man in the Street
Extraordinary Value
1d. net
Postage 1d.

A New Leaflet
Unknown Baby
6d. 100
4/- 1,000
(Plus Postage)

LIBERTY and AUTHORITY in the Modern World
Henry Carter Mertens Lecture, 1939
6d.

CONSCRIPTION 1939
by Carl Heath
Price 1d.

Introduction to The SCIENCE OF PEACE
Bart de Ligt
Peace Academy Lecture No. 1 3d.

The Human Factor
By R. H. Ward
Price 2d.

Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

BOLLOWSAY; 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 404 Camden Road; garden meeting of North London Fellowship of Reconciliation; Father Jack Winslow on "Gandhi's Aggressive Pacifism"; peace play: *Fast Bound*, by Tottenham PPU members.

LEICESTER; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Priebend Street; Rev. T. M. Johnston on "Pacifism and Nonconformity"; Folk.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; for all COs; debate on "Alternative Service"; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; an inter-member discussion on "Why I became a Pacifist"; PPU.

ALBURY; 8 p.m. Village Hall; debate; Cyril Adams and Rev. M. E. Tupper (chairman); Youth Fellowship.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

BARNHURST; 3 p.m. 52 Bowness Road; garden party; PPU.

MANCHESTER; Milton Hall, Deansgate; 3 p.m. Delegate conference—Mr. G. A. Sutherland (chairman); 6.45 p.m. Demonstration—A. Joseph Braxshaw (chairman), A. Fenner Brockway, James H. Hudson and others; No Conscription League. See also page 7.

RICKMANSWORTH; 3 p.m. "Upmeads," The Drive; garden meeting; James Avery Joyce, Councillor A. R. Palmer and Percy A. Leonard (chairman); "Active Service for Peace"; PPU.

WELWYN GARDEN CITY; 3.30 p.m. Secretariat School, 10 Parkway; William Cooper and W. R. Hughes (chairman); PPU.

CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Maurice Briar; PPU.

Tomorrow and Sunday

OLD JORDANS HOTEL (near Beaconsfield); Celebration of Thomas Ellwood; Saturday: 3 and 6.30 p.m. Episodes from his life dramatized by Beatrice Saxon Snell; in aid of Friends' work for refugees; Sunday: 2.30 p.m. Pilgrimage by motor coach to places of interest associated with Thomas Ellwood; 6.30 p.m. Lecture on Thomas Ellwood by Arthur Rowntree; further details from the Warden at the Hotel.

Sunday, July 2

HYDE PARK STAND; 3 p.m. Sybil Morrison; PPU.

SOUTH LITTLETON (near Evesham); 6 p.m. Open-air meeting in field opposite the Mid-Littleton School; Maurice L. Rowntree and other Friends; Society of Friends.

MANCHESTER; 7.45 p.m. Platt Fields; open-air meeting; PPU.

SALFORD; 8 p.m. Peel Park; open-air meeting; A. Stones and C. Orford; PPU.

OLDHURST; 8 p.m. Barnfield Park; open-air meeting; Sydney Conbeer, Wilfred Wellock and Alderman B. T. Robbins (chairman); PPU.

SOUTH LITTLETON (near Evesham); conference on "Quakerism, a Way of Life"; Maurice Rowntree, Society of Friends.

Monday, July 3

SWANSEA; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; Mock Tribunal; No Conscription League.

Tuesday, July 4

LONDON, E.C.4; 12.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mrs. D. Plovan on "People, Old and New"; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club; King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; London Group Leaders' Meeting.

WEST NORWOOD; 8.15 p.m. 11 Portal Close; Mr. Goodrich on "The Basis of Christian Pacifism"; PPU.

Wednesday, July 5

PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Highmore Road; Dr. Alfred Salter and Sydney Larcombe (chairman); PPU.

WILLESDEN; 8 p.m. Crown Hotel, Cricklewood Broadway; supper meeting; Lord Arnold and R. G. J. Tovey (chairman); Willesden Round Table.

Thursday, July 6

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mrs. Joyce Pollard on "The Peace Army in Palestine"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 6 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mrs. Muriel Langford on "A recent visit to Germany"; City PPU group.

SWANSEA; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, High Street; meeting for business and to welcome new members; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1; 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Harrow Cadbury, JP, will present a portrait bust by Mr. Joseph Abbo to George Lansbury; The Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, will preside; George Lansbury Presentation Committee.

Friday, July 7

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Reginald Stamp on "The Post-war History of the Working-class Movement"; PPU.

Fri. to Sun., July 7 to 9

LONDON, N.W.1; Friends House, Euston Road; 20th National Peace Congress; particulars from National Peace Council, 30 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

LONDON, E.C.4; Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street; weekend conference on "The African People, Democracy, and World Peace"; details from the Secretary, Keith Alleyne, Aggrey House, 47 Doughty Street, W.C.1.

Sat., July 29, to Tues., Aug. 8

HARROGATE; Pannal Ash College; PPU Summer Conference; particulars from John Barclay, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

CUT THIS OUT FOR REFERENCE

ADVISORY BUREAUX: Additions and Amendments

LAST week we published a full list of secretaries of advisory bureaux already known to the National Advisory Bureau at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Following is a list of alterations and additions, and it should be noted that similar changes in the list should NOT be sent to *Peace News*, but to the National Advisory Bureau at the above address.

London

HAMMERSMITH AND CHISWICK. Friends' Meeting House, Lower Hall, Hammersmith, W.6.

MUSWELL HILL. Robert Avery, 100 Muswell Hill Road, N.10.

WINCHMORE HILL. Burleigh Finchen, Rowan Wood, The Broad Walk, Winchmore Hill, N.21.

Provinces

ABERDARE. Mrs. Cullingworth, Fairfield, Aberdare, Wales.

ABERGAVENNY. Mr. J. D. Owen, Clyro, Park Crescent, Abergavenny, Mon.

AYLESBURY. Mr. A. W. Page, "Oxleys," Leighton Buzzard, Beds.

BAKEWELL AND MATLOCK. Rev. A. Jones, Mill House, Cromford, near Matlock.

BATH. Arnold Longman, 32 Milsom Street, Bath.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE. The Secretary, Brighton Peace Centre, 48 Montpelier Road, Brighton 1.

BRYNMAWR. Rev. F. B. Hankinson, The Manse, Brynmawr, Brecon.

CAMBRIDGE. Edward Johnson, 261 Cherry-hinton Road, Cambridge.

CHATHAM. Eric G. Attwood, 4 Green Way, Chatham.

COLCHESTER. Cecil Barrett, 8 Richardson Walk, Lexden, Colchester.

CREWE. Mr. M. R. Riley, 378, Hungerford Road, Crewe.

DUNDEE. PPU Office, Panmure Street, Dundee.

GLOUCESTER. Miss E. Weaving, 3 Grosvenor Road, Hucclecote, Glos.

GRAVESEND. Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

GREAT AYTON. A. Herbert Dobbing, Friends' School, Great Ayton, Yorks.

HALIFAX. The Secretary, N.C.L., 2 St. James Street, Halifax.

HIGH WYCOMBE. Rev. G. R. Maland, 223 West Wycombe Road, High Wycombe.

ICKENHAM. H. R. J. Lee, Hoyleake Crescent, Ickenham, Middlesex.

IPSWICH. Mrs. Whitmore, 14 Weymouth Road, Ipswich.

KILMARNOCK. Friends' Meeting House, Sturrock Street, Kilmarnock.

LEATHERHEAD AND ASHFORD. Mr. J. Topping, An Groban, Fir Tree Road, Leatherhead.

LEEDS. Edna Lees, 27 The Avenue, Alwoodley Park, Leeds.

LEWES. Cecil Heathfield, St. Martin's Lane, Lewes.

LLANELLY. Walter Cowley, 12 Glyncod Terrace, Half Way Llanelly.

LONG EATON. A. E. Butcher, "The Laurels," Recreation Street, Long Eaton.

MAIDSTONE. Wilfrid Vickers, Orchardlea, Ashford Road, near Maidstone.

NORTH HACKNEY AND STOKE NEWINGTON. Mr. J. T. Harris, 9 Queensdown Road, E.5.

NEWARK-ON-TRENT. Mr. S. Gibbon, 55 Victoria Street, Newark.

OXFORD. S. Burden, 9 Belvedere Road, Oxford.

PONTYPOOL. Mr. T. Griffiths, Bryn-y-Coed, Usk Road, Pontypool.

ST. HELEN'S. Ernest B. Le Mare, Holly Mounts, Laurel Road, St. Helen's.

SHEFFIELD. Donald Rodger, Dick Sheppard Centre, 25 Change Alley, Sheffield.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA AND DISTRICT. J. L. Long, 549 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea.

WATFORD. Hon. Sec., 180 Pinner Road, Oxhey.

WATFORD. Hon. Sec., 40 Devereux Drive, Watford.

YARMOUTH (Great). Mrs. Pattern, 86 Churchill Road, Great Yarmouth.

Commons Debate on Preparing for Peace

REPLYING to a question by Mr. R. Sorensen in the House of Commons, Mr. W. S. Morrison said that "the question of the control of civil aviation in relation to its misuse for military purposes forms one of the matters which is under consideration by the Inter-Departmental Inquiry on Air Disarmament."

"Three meetings of the full Committee conducting the Inquiry have been held in the last year," he said, "and a great deal of work has been carried out by a number of Sub-Committees and by Departmental investigations. The Hon. Member will no doubt appreciate that owing to the events of recent months the staffs concerned have been preoccupied with matters of active defence and have been unable to devote as much time to this problem as they would otherwise have done. No approach on the matter has been made in recent months to the Governments of other Powers."

Mr. Sorensen: "When is some report likely to be made in regard to this inquiry; and can we have an assurance that at least as much active attention will be paid to preparing for peace as is now being paid to preparing for war?"

Mr. Morrison: "I can assure the Hon. Member that the inquiry will be actively pursued, and that there will be no avoidable delay in bringing it to a conclusion."

What the Groups Are Doing

(Continued from p. 10.)

Tramp Preachers' Pacifist Campaign

AS part of a scheme to develop the East Midlands area of the Peace Pledge Union, three "tramp preachers" have just begun a tour of the area, holding open-air meetings in conjunction with local PPU groups.

Two of the speakers are Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Opie, of the Brotherhood of the Way.

The tour will last until the end of September, when it will probably be followed by a visit from Mr. C. W. Hope Gill (PPU "Ambassador at Large") to organize the next stage in the scheme—the formation of new groups.

The travelling speakers have been in Leicester this week. Particulars of their itinerary and how PPU members can help their campaign are obtainable from the chairman of the PPU East Midlands Area Committee, Mr. G. C. Baldwin, 1, Woodville Drive, Sherwood, Nottingham.

Trip to the Seaside

WITH the co-operation of the local group of the Peace Pledge Union and the Unitarian Christian Church, Portsmouth, "The Good Companions" are planning a day's outing to the sea in July for a coach load of kiddies from the homes of unemployed in the East End.

Less than 6d. a day for maintenance does not leave any margin for holidays, and this will be the first sight of the sea for some of them.

Mr. Charles Stuart wishes to thank anonymous "Good Companions" for parcels of clothing, &c.

He reports the offer from a PPU member of a three weeks' holiday in Wales for one of their boys, and points out that further offers for children or adults would be welcomed—even for a weekend. His address is 8 Highcroft Road, Crouch Hill, N.19.

Burnley on the Up-grade

AFTER a prolonged struggle the Burnley group is now definitely on the up-grade. Burnley has hitherto been strong for the Collective Security idea, and has proved rather a tough proposition, but sustained press work—correspondence and advertisements of a catchy kind—distribution of leaflets, &c., are telling their tale.

Mr. Laurence Housman recently spoke to a large and attentive audience, and the long sustained applause at the end of his speech was most impressive, and full of encouragement for the future. What is more, the audience magnificently responded to an appeal for financial support.

Crumpsall's Experiment

LAST Saturday the Crumpsall group tried out a new experiment. Each member had undertaken to find several children between 6 and 12 years old who would be likely to benefit most by a change of air and surroundings, and these children were taken out into the country where they spent the time in freedom, in fun, in picking flowers, in eating and drinking, in comradeship with each other, and just enough attention to keep them safe.

Members of the group undertook the expense and responsibility, and through this experiment twenty-five children and their parents made their first contact with the PPU.

The "Handbook" at Chingford

AT a local ARP Fete recently two members of the Chingford group sold 28 copies of the *Peace Service Handbook*. A much larger number would have been sold had not headquarters temporarily run out of supply, for the books "sold like hot cakes."

Tomorrow (Saturday) there will be an open-air meeting at 6.30 on the corner of Albert Avenue, South Chingford, and at the same time a mass selling of *Peace News* and *Service Handbooks*.

Classified Advertisements

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ACCOMMODATION

FLAT, 2 rooms and kitchenette, fully furnished for 2 friends, 25s.—Arnold, 27 Marlborough Crescent, W.4.

WANTED

WANTED TO RENT House with about 3 acres land within 20 miles London, to start community.—Mr. Bedwell, Hindustan House, 5 Rupert Street, E.1.

PERSONAL

CZECH BOY (fourteen years) desires hospitality for a few months whilst waiting to enter USA. Must leave Prague immediately. Speaks English. No financial guarantee involved. Kindly send offers to: R. Maynard Bennett, 4 Addington Road, Sittingbourne, Kent.

JEWESS Music Teacher (52) Frankfurt, desires domestic post or guarantee and hospitality; going USA in two years.—Box 185, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

VOLUNTARY HELPERS URGENTLY WANTED for Peace News Office Thursday afternoons, to pack parcels, &c.—Apply Distribution Dept., *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4 (Stamford Hill 6157).

SITUATIONS

Wanted

COMPANION-HELP. Post urgently sought for Austrian-Czech lady (38). Good housekeeper, expert cook and needlewoman, good pianist, chauffeuse, anxious to find domestic post enabling her to bring her daughter (10) and place her at inexpensive school. Family known to Advertiser who asks for replies to be addressed: 15 St. James's Place, London, S.W.1.

WHERE TO STAY

BELGIUM. We offer bed, breakfast for 2s. to pacifist travellers. Sindhwaad, 37 rue Vanderkindere, Bruxelles-Uccle.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

FURNISHED HOUSES, &c. East coast badly hit. PPU members specially welcomed in Southwold. Write HUM, South Green. (Please enclose postage.)

NEAR MALVERN HILLS. Guests received modernized Country Cottage. Two guineas.—Miss Ballard, Orchard Cottage, Ledbury.

RURAL Devon. Quiet, restful holiday. Paying guests received. Comfortable modern cottage.—Vivian, Chittlehampton, Umberleigh, N. Devon.

P.P.U. Youth "Drive" Is Under Way

DAVID SPRECKLEY has now left Peace Pledge Union headquarters and Arnold Daniels has kindly undertaken to help organize the Youth Campaign as a voluntary helper.

Further particulars will be issued shortly, but in the meantime he writes:

The Youth Section of the PPU has now actively commenced its work. We ask the help of all our group leaders in this matter and should be pleased if all who have contacts with the various schools and Institutes would communicate with headquarters. The development of the Section depends entirely on the enthusiasm of individual members, and we hope that you will do all in your power to further our aim of a youth section attached to each PPU group.

We hope that future activities of the Section will include hikes, weekend camps, study-groups and other useful and attractive activities.

The PPU Youth Section will collaborate with the LSIP in France and thus international contacts will be encouraged.

Will all please do their utmost to start a section in their district.

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Where Tribunals Will Sit

TRIBUNALS to deal with conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act will be set up in the following towns, according to information received from the Ministry of Labour by Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union:

London (2 tribunals)
Cambridge
Manchester
Leeds
Carlisle
Newcastle
Cardiff
Caernarvon
Birmingham
Edinburgh
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Inverness

Medical Examination, Dependents' Grant, For C.O.s Accepting Alternative Service

TWO important concessions to objectors are announced in a letter from the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, received by Stuart Morris, chairman of the PPU.

The letter reads:

Mr. Brown is now able to let you know that the intention is that conscientious objectors should be treated as regards the dependents' allowances in exactly the same way as militiamen; and that those who are doing six months' training under civil authority will have a medical examination.

Probable Chairmen of Tribunals

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher may be chairman of the Appeals Tribunal which will deal with conscientious objectors in England and Wales under the Military Training Act. The position has been offered to him, but no definite appointment has yet been made.

Mr. Fisher is Warden of New College, Oxford, and a governor of the BBC. A similar position in Scotland has been offered to Lord Home, Lord Lieutenant of Berwickshire.

The tribunals will hear appeals from local tribunals of the country.

NEW PAMPHLETS

An addition to the list of literature dealing with conscription which we printed last week is *The Crime of Conscription*, by E. I. Watkin, published by the Pax Group at 6d.

It discusses the question from the Christian point of view.

A new booklet by Wilfred Wellock, entitled *The Conscription of Youth: At What Price? To What End?* has been issued by the Peace Pledge Union as a "valuable contribution to current thought."

Copies (1d. each) are obtainable from the PPU, Dick Sheppard House, 4 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Friendly Visits to Germany

Following a splendid response to his suggestion of a series of friendly visits to Germany during this summer, the Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead has invited World Friendship Tours, Ltd., to make the necessary arrangements.

These parties will not represent any section or society or organization. They will consist solely of people who want to make friends.

German friends will join the excursions and have sent numerous invitations for British visitors to meet them in their homes, the English clubs and elsewhere.

It is suggested from headquarters that Peace Pledge Union members might co-operate in this effort as much as possible.

Particulars are obtainable from World Friendship Tours, Ltd., Wellington House, 125 Strand, London, W.C.2.

Protection for Government Officers

People most directly affected by the National Service campaign are local Government officers because the organization of National Service rests mainly upon the local authorities. It has therefore been suggested that attempts be made to form a National Association of Local Government Officers pacifist group.

Those interested should write to William G. Ford, 8 Kingswood Avenue, Thornton Heath.

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
30th June, 1939

A Pacifist Commentary

Proof that We Are Practical :: War Propaganda from B.B.C. :: Watch the West Indies

"WE must call on all peoples in all countries to stop the wanton preparation for a war which is certain to bankrupt the world, both financially and morally." These remarks were made by Mr. Thomas Watson (USA) in his presidential address, when opening the Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce in Copenhagen this week.

Feelings of a similar nature have been expressed recently by other commercial and industrial leaders. Whether actuated by a genuine desire to improve the lot of the world or the outcome of fear, they alone can decide. But if we accept the sentiments on their face value, they afford much encouragement.

They show that the pacifist case is not so unpractical as many would make it out to be, and, therefore, we should devote more time and attention to these matters, apart from individual war resistance, than sometimes we are tempted to do.

Mr. Watson thought "because the strong nations, as a result of their industrial, financial, and military resources, enjoy greater comforts and security than many of the less fortunate small nations," they must assume the responsibility of adjusting international problems that will provide opportunities for all to enjoy their share of peaceful security and everything they need which the world produces. With all this in mind, he then went on to elaborate a scheme he thought would go a long way toward solving the problems.

Humanity First

MR. WATSON suggested "that the six or seven leading countries of the world should each appoint a committee of economic experts to work with representatives of the Governments and of business to make a thorough study of their country from the standpoint of their needs, and what they would like to get from other countries, and what they would like to contribute to other countries to the mutual advantage of all." Which sounds, as far as it goes, good common sense.

Unfortunately, there is one grave omission. No mention has been made of the ordinary man and woman.

When Governments and business men confer, usually their claims are overlooked. Therefore, if all the vexatious difficulties confronting the world today are to be tackled and successfully surmounted, they must be approached with an understanding of their full social implication. The fiscal and economic aspects must take second place.

To think, in terms of tariffs (cowards' castles they have been aptly called) on the one hand, or of free trade and laissez-faire on the other, will be asking for failure. Neither of these courses is capable of providing the elixir the world so urgently needs today.

They belong to a past civilization, one which has been almost overwhelmed by its own devices already. Bold and imaginative measures are now wanted. A new world social order, based on justice and the acceptance of a common heritage, must be envisaged. The bounty and wealth of the universe must be harnessed for the advantage and use of all mankind; and not directed again for sectional and petty ends.

Conflict in China

THE Japanese have continued this week to embarrass the British Government, and the latter seems to have done very little in the way of attempting to straighten things out. Now two more treaty ports, Foochow and Wenchow, the Japanese propose to occupy and have asked British, American and other foreign shipping and nationals to leave by noon Thursday (yesterday).

The British authorities have already declared that they do not intend to comply with the request, because as these are treaty ports, they have every right to use them without restriction. Here is an impasse developing of a very ugly type. Because China is so far away we must not dismiss it as being out of sight, out of

mind. As we pointed out in these notes last week, we have no more right in China than have the Japanese, and the present troubles are the consequences of rival imperialisms.

No apology is needed for underlining this, because only when this country understands the real dangers of a system which has to depend for its existence upon force will it be willing to consider alternatives which would carry no greater risks.

Radio Propaganda

THE Government, by its insidious propaganda, is exploiting the strength of human feeling to a degree which must be revolting to all decent-minded people, unless the subtlety of it has deceived them.

A typical example, as well as a glaring one, was when all the terror and horror of an air raid was broadcast in order to stimulate recruitment for national defence. The BBC had made it so realistic—in co-operation with the Government—that it had been necessary to warn the public for several nights prior to the performance that it was only an "imaginary" attack and that if anyone was at all nervous, it was best not to listen.

The Sunday night "National Roll Call" was another attempt to make the country war conscious. The idea of playing one area off against another, is a very old dodge.

"Wind Up"

THEN the *Radio Times* (23/6/39) carries an announcement inquiring, "Is your Set Doing its Job?" and finally enjoining, "Make sure your set is doing its job!" The reason for this sudden interest in wireless sets is to have them ready for war instructions, should the occasion arise.

Shelley was right when he wrote: Power, like a desolating pestilence, Pollutes whatever it touches; and obedience, Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth, Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame A mechanized automaton.

Returning to the mock air raid broadcast, the *Daily Mail* (which declared that it was "to put the wind up you—as ARP propaganda") reported that "all the cataclysmic sounds of this mimic air raid... were on wax records taken out of the Effects Library at Broadcasting House."

The reporter described the atmosphere in which the broadcasters produced the nerve-wracking programme as being "as calm and collected and austere as BBC as you please!"

Not Cricket

THE West Indies have been very prominently in the news this week, but the main interest seems to have been confined, in this country, to the cricket match at Lord's. Therefore, it may be appropriate to direct attention to facts which arise through the unrest among the unemployed in Kingston, also occurring this week.

The Legislature has already taken steps to promote a Bill which will prohibit assemblies and processions. The Captain General, Sir Arthur Richards, addressing the Council of the Legislature, said, "it was contemptible (referring to the demonstrators) to play on the fears, suspicions,

and ignorance of the workers in order to provoke them to violence. If the truth had been made plain to the working classes there would have been no disorders."

The workers in Jamaica, as in every other colony, do not want the "truth" made plain to them when it is so one-sided. Give them the right to determine their own affairs, and facilities to raise the standard of life, and the truth will automatically follow, as well as the disappearance of the cause of all the fears and suspicions.

The Government has not paid the attention that it should to these long festering sores. It has an early opportunity of indicating to the colonial workers of the West Indies that it intends to give them both a "square deal and a square meal," as there is a report almost ready for consideration from the Commission which recently returned from these colonies.

"Patriotic" Interests

SIR JOHN SIMON has made a *volte-face* on several occasions, in the House of Commons, during the concluding stages of the Budget discussion. Admittedly, he has done so with considerable grace, thanks largely to his legal dexterity. But the fact remains that he has had to change his plans.

It is worth recording, because it shows what pressure big business can bring to bear upon the Government. The Film and Cinema Trades were so patriotic in their agitation that they threatened (as indeed they did, up to a point) to withhold and destroy films depicting the fuller details of the royal tour.

This proves to what lengths vested interests will go when attacked. Yet many readers will recall how their patriotism has been challenged when giving out handbills in front of a cinema showing *The Warning!* There is the contrast!

An imperialist has been described as, "Someone who wants you to give your life for his country." Without desiring to be uncharitable, such a definition does not look so very wide of the mark!

Preference for Truth?

SIR KINGSLEY WOOD speaking at the Empire Press Union conference, on Monday said he was not an admirer of the methods and kind of propaganda that are being served out today by certain other countries (hinting at Germany and Italy) and would prefer to rely upon a free press and a constant supply of facts and truth which, in the end, will win their own way, and be accepted and respected.

Compare Sir Kingsley's statement to another one, which was made by Mr. Gedye (of *Fallen Bastions* fame) in a letter to the *New Statesman*. The latter writes: "One cannot become a foreign correspondent of *The Times* without pledging oneself not to express oneself either in outside articles or books without the approval of that newspaper."

All things considered it looks as if a heavy premium is being placed on asserting the facts these days!

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

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